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TURKEY TO-DAY



Kamâl Atatürk
Bronze by Professor Joseph Thorak

TURKEY TO-DAY

BY

STEPHAN RONART

Translated by Josémeé M. Greenwood

75 PHOTOGRAPHS AND 5 SKETCH MAPS



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PREFACE

Turkey To-day—a pretentious title. To the reader it may seem ambitious in the extreme to attempt to describe within the narrow compass of a book the civilization, spirit and economy of a nation whose present has been moulded by every incident in the past and whose future is being determined by each moment of the present. An undertaking of this kind must leave gaps. Can it, in fact, ever give a really complete picture?

In order to prevent any misunderstanding, it seems advisable to say a few words about the intended scope of this book. It has not been the author's intention to cover completely the subject suggested by the title—his aim has been to detach from the wealth of material the significant principles and their interpretation, and to do no more than indicate particularities and details which can better be left to specialists and experts to do justice to.

Within this limited framework he has tried to deal with as many matters as possible. No doubt there are many omissions, but not too many, he hopes. Sometimes where omissions have been made, this has not been through inadvertence, but intentionally and after full consideration. Nowadays the cinema and wireless have delegated to the descriptive author another field from that he formerly held, one which lies deeper, behind actual appearance and form. He can only compete with the cinema and wireless if he can penetrate the images and voices of everyday life and reach those forces which govern the eternal renewal of existence itself. This necessitates a further limitation in the treatment of the subject.

The author has similarly limited himself in quoting dates, statistics and relevant data, and has given only what is absolutely essential. Books of reference, statistical year-books and reports of Turkish and International Commissions indicate such things

much more amply than he could possibly do here. Besides, in his opinion, statistics only provide argument of value if they are comprehensive and a wide choice is made. Nevertheless, although use has been made of them in working on this book (and if the reader should wish to consult them he can easily do so by referring to the bibliography at the end), it was the author's opinion that if they had been interpolated in the book itself, they would have been more likely to obscure than assist the reader, and it seemed that illustrations and sketch maps would be more useful.

While touching upon those matters about which this book is silent, there are two further points which appear worthy of mention. One is the so-called "glamour of the East"—that romanticism of word and imagery, woven round mosques and bazaars so beloved of film and operetta lyrics, artistic picture post cards and family magazines. It is bound up with a certain type of tourist publicity which is nonsense and not to be regarded as a matter for tragedy, were it not that even to-day it appears in the columns and articles of the big newspapers, and even in more serious accounts of travels and studies in the East.

Now, of course, veiled women, the fez and turban have disappeared from the Turkish streets, but there still remain in Turkey plenty of mosques and minarets with their background of glamorous cypresses, plenty of old, so-called "picturesque" alleys and bazaars. In Istanbul—even though it is no longer called Constantinople—there are plenty of "antique" buckles, chains, daggers and pistols, gold-embroidered slippers—all those delightful things which cunning merchants and guides know how to palm off upon naïve tourists for as many pounds as they are worth pence. Beyoglu—even though it is no longer called Pera—still harbours plenty of that mixture of types and races which produces those almost too smart polyglot merchants and guides, who are for so many travellers in the East the sole source of information.

All this still exists, even in the most modern part of Turkey. But the author has not written about it because he wishes to speak only of things which are really Turkish, and all this is not and never has been Turkish, any more than the cabarets of the Rue Pigalle and the Boulevard Montparnasse are Paris and France, or the alabaster doves and the tin gondola-shaped paper-

weights on the stalls of the Piazza San Marco are Italy. All these things exist, are photographed and bought, although every sensible person knows how unreal they are and how much better it would be if they disappeared—better for the real Paris, the real Venice, the real Turkey.

The second point is quite different—not sham, not made for the tourist trade, but concerned with life in its truest and most earnest aspect. For here a few words must be said about poverty, the hard, grinding poverty of the Turkish peasant. This is not omitted from the text of this book because the author did not notice it or did not want to notice it—he saw it like everyone else who travels in Anatolia—it was evident there side by side with the new factories, new railways and new houses. In the face of their advance it is slowly retreating—slowly, for it has had between two and three centuries in which to establish itself firmly, whereas the new Turkey has had scarcely ten or fifteen years in which to uproot it. That is why poverty still is a very real part of “Turkey to-day”. Nevertheless, it will not be mentioned, for in spite of everything it is not Turkish in substance, it has no foundation in Turkish soil nor in the nature of the Turkish peasant, for the soil is rich and spacious in spite of wide, sterile steppes and bare, rocky mountains, and where its wealth does not lie openly on the surface, work is in project to bring it to the surface and provide many times the number of the actual population with nourishment and prosperity. The Turkish peasant loves the soil—he has proved that with his life’s blood—and is willing to labour over it and give it every care and attention, just like the peasant of Germany or France, just like the peasant of every other country in the world. For generation after generation he has wrested from it vigour and abundance, even when the soil was poor and the toil bitterly hard. And yet there is poverty? Yes—because weak, selfish princes gambled away into the hands of foreigners the fruits of Turkish labour and Turkish wealth; because foreign profiteers took what fell into their laps without asking whence it came, and then grasped at more because those whose duty it was to defend the soil failed; because these princes and their foreign protectors kept the peasant in the darkness of superstition and ignorance so that he might not see how his labour, goods and chattels were serving the pro-

gress and well-being of foreigners; because, whilst the Empire was disintegrating, the country was being ruined and the people left to perish. Nothing remained, or almost nothing—save poverty.

Much could be said about poverty in Turkey, but it certainly is not indigenous, any more than it is in China or India, where it lays its heavy burden on the ten or eleven hundred millions of Asia. For centuries, for millenniums, almost all the countries had, like Turkey, drawn prosperity, culture and art from their native land. But poverty became their lot when a small group of men made themselves masters of the economic fabric of the world, and began to exploit the wealth of the whole huge continent of Asia so as to increase the possessions and power of a handful of European states—when the Imperialism of Europe established its rule over the whole world.

But this raises a question which, although it cannot be regarded as uniquely Turkish, strikes the author as being the main point of this book—that is the resistance of Asia to European imperialism. It is one of the great fundamental problems, if not the greatest, of our times. The nature of this resistance, its intensity, the phases of its development must determine to some considerable extent the political, social and economic progress of the whole world.

Imperialism in itself is not a phenomenon of simple, primary origin, it is composed of a complex series of phenomena due to the expansion of political and economic power, and originating from one primary cause—human inequality, inequality of the individual as well as of nations. Its nature varies according to the grades of this inequality, from absolute colonial domination down to the elastic ties of capitulations and concessions. But all of them have the same object: to use the goods and labour of others to create a surplus in the economic wealth of the dominant party and make him less conscious of the social and economic inequalities of his own community. Their consequences, too, are always identical—domination and subjection of one nation by another, exploitation and eventually war.

Every attempt at resistance is doomed to failure as long as it attacks symptoms and lets the cause continue to exist. What,

then, is the fundamental cause of the inequality of power, wherein lies the pre-eminence of these dominant nations? Not in their numerical superiority nor in their culture or intellectual capacity, nor in their ethics, for these would never lend themselves as excuses for oppression. The real cause is twofold: firstly, the close relationship of nation and state and their consciousness of the strength of this bond, which gives unanimity in their dealings with the outer world and a national impulse to their political activity. Secondly, technical science—intensive use of technology with an ever-increasing drive in trade, production, and armaments—technology applied to thought and work, to science and everyday affairs. The peoples of the dominated colonial countries lacked this, and they can only overcome this inequality by some effective adjustment of the balance. It is not a question of whether the fusion of nation and state constitutes an ideal form for the human community, or if technical intensification brings happiness nearer to mankind—these are problems of sociology and philosophy—it is a question of reality, and imperialism deals with concrete facts.

From Syria to China the battle-cry is sounding to-day against western imperialism—but in a vague, confused way. Already twice, in opposite directions, a systematic plan has been tried, by Gandhi and by Lenin. But both of them failed because both of them misconceived the realities of the situation. For a short while Gandhi succeeded in binding together in national unity three hundred million Indians, but his negation of the value of technology destined the movement to failure from the start. Lenin, on the contrary, wanted technology everywhere, but he put social revolution above national unity. Only one man up to now has understood the real essence of imperialistic power and drawn his conclusions from it with the dynamism of the revolutionary: Kamâl Atatürk. With him as their leader, six million Turks have accomplished what the thousands of millions of the other subjugated peoples could not achieve. Their victory was due to the systematic coupling within a national state of the organized power of the nation with the mechanism of up-to-date technology. It is the method the other eastern peoples must adopt if they wish to succeed in their struggles—it is the only way to throw off their colonial status and the yoke of imperialism.

This must entail, both in the mother-country as in the colonies, a readjustment of economic and social values. By following the same path in the same logical fashion, reorganization must come about and a new state be established. The route to this goal is Kamalism. That, the author believes, is the fundamental value, the guide given by "Turkey to-day"; at least, so it appears to him from all he has seen and heard during the months he lived and travelled in Anatolia. He has tried to express it in this book. If he has succeeded, be it only in part, his effort has not been in vain.

ANKARA.

May, 1936.

PART ONE

TURKISH PEOPLES

AND

TURKISH LANDS

CHAPTER I

FORCES

OETUKAN, LAND OF THE TURKS—THE STEPPES—THE SUMERIANS—
THE HITTITES—THE HIUNG-NU, SCYTHIANS, HUNS, AVARS—THE GOK-
TURKS, WHITE BULGARS AND KHAZARS—THE UIGHURS—ATTILA—
GENGHIS KHAN—TAMERLANE

THROUGH the middle of the vast continent of Asia runs a long chain of mountains rising to a height of 16,500 feet. It is called the Altai Range and curves about the endless, wide steppes of Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia. The western spur of this range, the Tarbagatai—"Mount Marmot"—about 9,700 feet, and Tien-Shan opposite it—called "Mountain of the Sky" because of its height of 24,000 feet—form the mighty end pillars of that ancient gateway of the peoples, the Djungaria, which for thousands of years has provided a means of access towards the West for the ever-increasing hordes of tribesmen emerging from the heart of Asia, the *officina gentium*, and travelling towards Europe. From the eastern slopes of these mountains flows the River Orchon, thrusting its way through from south to north, until flat, sun-baked steppes absorb its flow and its waters are finally lost among the reedy swamps of Lake Baikal. Other streams, collecting a larger volume of water in these heights, have overcome the thirst of the soil and the dryness of the atmosphere and have developed into the longest and mightiest rivers of the world—the Yenisei or "The Great Water", about 3,000 miles long, the Irtish and the Ob. This steppe, with which the rivers have to contend in their course north of the great curve of the Altai, and the other lying to the south of these mountains between the River Orchon and the Tarbagatai—the Tarim

Basin—constitute Oetukan, the land where, ancient saga relates, there lived and developed a people of many far-flung tribes—the Turkish people.

Mongolian, Persian and Arabic writers from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries have taken these old sagas and, weaving round them the flowers of fantasy and conceits of style, have built them into a history in verse—"The Garden of Delight", "The Book of Victory", "The Book of Noble Treasure", "Concerning Excellent Men". All these relate how Japhet, son of Noah, and his son Turk, taught mankind how to make a tent, and tell of the deeds of Turk's twin grandsons Tatar and Mogul, of other sons and grandsons, of Bulgar and Burtas, forefathers of the Magyars, of Oghuz-Khan and his six sons who eventually became the chiefs of twenty-four different tribes, ancestors of the great Turkish family, of their battles and heroic exploits.

These court chroniclers altered and mixed the old sagas and legends to suit their own taste and requirements, but in spite of poetic licence there can be discerned a mysterious, shadowy, subconscious memory rising out of the grey shadows of that distant past when, from the primitive Ural-Altaic people along the banks of the Ob and the Yenisei, the Finno-Ugric tribes separated themselves, going north towards the Urals, while the Mongols went towards the east and north-east. Faint traces can still be found of those tribes which in course of time were to expand into the many groups of the Turkish peoples, the eventual rulers of the steppes, and were to send from the Altai wave after wave of humanity wandering through the western tablelands of Asia, reaching to the Don and the Danube, and far to the south and east.

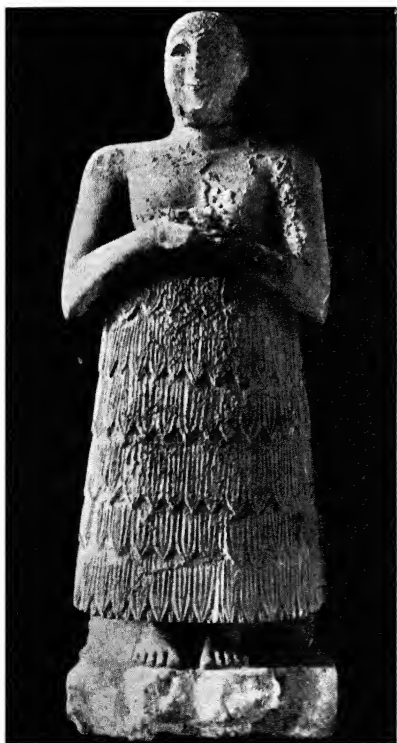
THE STEPPES

FROM immemorial times the steppes have had a remarkable characteristic. For decades, even for centuries on end, sufficient rain would fall to enable the soil to provide enough vegetation and grass and moisture to feed herds of horses, sheep and camels, which in their turn provided the tribesmen with food in the form of milk, meat and fat, and with hides for their clothing and tents. Then suddenly the fertilizing waters would begin to run short,

successive years of drought destroyed the herds, threatening the people with starvation, thirst and death. Then migration began. The pitiless struggle for existence and for pasturage which was becoming more and more sparse, for the springs which were drying up one after another, drove these tribes of the steppe outwards towards its edge where lay the territories of those ancient upholders of civilization which, since the birth of mankind, had been protected by the flow of the rivers and the lie of the mountains. The tribes moved east and south-east towards China, south and south-west towards India and Persia, and west towards Mesopotamia, Syria, and over the land bridges of Asia Minor into Europe.

Once this movement from the steppes had begun, it was impossible to foresee when and where those forces it had unchained

would come to rest. East and west great empires were overthrown or rose up, old civilizations were destroyed and new ones created. Rain and humidity in the Asiatic plains meant periods of peace, often of stagnation for the civilizations of the east, south and west; heat and drought brought war, upheavals, revolt, but also new development, new life. For although these hordes from the steppes often destroyed, blindly, like a hail-storm, what had taken endless toil to build, often exterminated without restraint what their contemporaries considered of lasting value, the current of life



*Statue of a Sumerian King.
2300 B.C. (Istanbul Museum)*

and the evolution of mankind lies deeper than momentary destruction; and so the tornado of Turkish tribal migration caused young new life to grow from the ruins of old, superseded contemporary culture, and as it swept over and destroyed the isolated civilizations of the west, south and east, it helped them once more to take a step forwards and upwards towards their final goal.

It was only during the last few years that science began to understand how to penetrate more profoundly into this Turkish world of the past, and estimate the real significance of the ancient monuments of their art and letters, and became acquainted with the historical basis of the old sagas and legends—that is to say, only since newly awakened, modern Turkey, the Turkey of Kamâl Atatürk, has been aroused to a consciousness and comprehension of its racial past, and national research has offered a helpful hand to international investigation. Only then did it come to light, to everyone's astonishment, that the best part of the cultural achievements of mankind had its origin in the spirit of the Turkish peoples—peoples who up to the end of the previous century were themselves unconscious of this knowledge and in whom it evoked no memory. Only in the post-war years was the correct interpretation of the cuneiform writing discovered, and only after archæological excavations on a large scale had been made again and again on Turkish soil, and new discoveries and new interpretations obtained with the help of Turkish research workers, did it become clear that mankind had to thank the Turkish race for an unexpected and prodigious share in the building up of civilization.

THE SUMERIANS

IN prehistoric, mythical ages, as yet uninvestigated, one of the branches of the Turkish race migrated, either as a body or in separate groups, from the primeval home in Central Asia towards the regions of the Indus, and from there, continuing still farther towards the west, crossed the Persian Gulf and went on as far as the fertile plain between the Tigris and Euphrates, which at that time flowed separately into the Gulf. They subdued the original inhabitants of those countries, dark-complexioned,

woolly-haired people of negroid type, and established themselves as the dominant race. This was the origin of the Sumerians. In the southern part of Mesopotamia they founded the Sumerian Empire, the oldest organized state known to history; their culture formed the first rung of the ladder which mankind was to climb in his quest of higher civilization. The atmosphere and impulse of their art was to form the basis and inspire the trend of the whole of ancient oriental art.

Posterity has been made familiar with the physical aspect of the Sumerians by monuments of their art—they were of medium height, well-proportioned and strong in build, with broad features, thin lips, fine straight noses, head and beard shaved—a type which is often met to-day among the Turkish people of the Asiatic tablelands. From innumerable inscriptions on clay tablets and stone it has been possible, after considerable labour, to reconstruct their language in all its dialects, its vocabulary, grammar and syntax. Its characteristic features are still discernible in the Turkish language to-day, for in spite of the thousands of intervening years, some two hundred word-roots in modern Turkish disclose this common origin.

Darkness as yet surrounds the date of the beginning of the Sumerian Empire and civilization. It was certainly fully developed and flourishing in 5000 B.C.—and scientific research has not yet gone back further. For three thousand years the Sumerians were the leaders and masters of their world in intellectual and artistic development, gave it a distinctive stamp, and ruled one of the greatest empires of that time. To-day we stand astounded before the ruins of the mighty palaces and temples they built; the statues of their rulers and princes are the pride of the museums of London, Paris and Istanbul, and our admiration is unbounded for their system of reckoning and for their commentaries and reflections which have been preserved for us in some 60,000 cuneiform texts. The spirit, the artistic forms and style of Sumeria, found their way among the Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria, from thence they pressed forward into Hellas and still survive in everything which is based on Hellenism.

One of the greatest achievements of mankind is due to the Sumerians: the invention of writing. As early as the Stone Age primitive man seems to have known how to express simple

thoughts by tracing images on the walls of caves. But the Sumerians were the first to make the great mental stride forward from the concrete world to that of ideas—images became symbols to express the abstract, later they developed into signs to express syllables and finally to express simple articulation. By means of a wooden stylus they drew images on clay tablets, and with the same sense of the essential and systematic that their entire artistic conception evidences, they gradually formed these into types, stylized them and thus invented the alphabet. The first written contracts, laws, decrees and accounts were Sumerian; so were the first archives and libraries, where all this has been preserved for six thousand five hundred years right up to the present day.

THE HITTITES

LIKE the Sumerians, another branch of the Turkish race began to migrate long before historic times from the steppes of Turkestan westwards—and again, like them, it went into Mesopotamia, farther to the north however, subduing the negroid primitive people of what is to-day Anatolia and making themselves the dominant race. They resisted all attacks for thousands of years and created an art and culture which were to

have a far-reaching and immeasurable influence. These were the Hittites—the first Turks to cultivate the soil of Anatolia.

In the centre of the great loop of the River Kizil-Irmak, near what is to-day Bogaskoy, stood Hattusas, their capital, in the year 1200 B.C.—we do not know how long it had already existed there. It was a fortified town with seven fortresses, massive



Hittite Relief

*Hittite Lions,
carved in stone*

gateways adorned with monumental carved stone lions, magnificent temples and splendid palaces. And not far from Hattusas, hidden in the defiles of the Yasilikaya, Hittite artists carved and chiseled in the very



rock itself images of their gods, priests and sacred possessions.

Hittite domination extended over the whole of Anatolia, from Malatia to Konia and Smyrna. At first the country was divided into separate principalities, but later, under the great kings of Hattusas, it became a united state. Until the end of the second millennium the Hittite Empire, governed by a succession of nineteen powerful kings, maintained its place among the great powers of the period, extending its sway over Syria and measuring its strength victoriously with Egypt and Assyria. During that time Hittite thought and art flourished over the whole of Anatolia, and from there its influence spread over the cultural sphere of the Ægean and into Minoan Crete. Hittite cults and sacred symbols were revered in Troy; the kings of Mycenæ decorated the cyclopean doors of their fortresses with lions based on the Hittite conception of monumental art, and Mycenæan artists took as their models the decorative motifs found on Hittite vases, goblets, silver rhytons and bronze weapons. Hittite theogony was reflected in the mythology and Olympus of Greece; their religious ideas were found among the Semitic races of Canaan and penetrated even into the Judaic world of Palestine. And all this was Turkish, created by the primeval force of the Turkish steppes.

THIS primeval force of the steppes remained inexhaustible throughout the ages, although rarely maintained for any length of time in any set form or within rigid boundaries. Like the steppe itself, it would admit neither form nor limits of space or time. In that endless, timeless waste families grew into tribes, tribes into peoples, split up again, annihilated one another in battle and built up a new nation from the ruins. Their appellations passed from one tribe to another, their tribal myths and legends mingled, they changed their heroes as they changed their pasturage and as their herds mingled. But although the history of neighbouring lands might vary their appellations according to time and circumstance in order to comprehend, group and denote them, they were always the same tribes from the Turkish steppes, urged forward into the fertile lands of the earth to escape the deadly aridity of their place of origin, impelled by the elemental force of the instinct of survival which gave them ever-renewed strength in their stress and conflict. This instinctive urge released the most potent forces of these peoples, forces brimming with the dynamism of the Turkish race.

Often a mere physical urge resulted in the complete transformation of the cultural attainments of mankind to correspond with the change in world events, and determined for long periods of history the fate of nations, whilst it helped them along the upward path of progress. Chinese annals from the Second Millennium until the beginning of the Christian era are filled with records of the continual irruptions of tribes of Turki stock, the Hiung-Nu and Tu-Kiu. It was these invasions that compelled China to extreme mobility of thought and highly sensitive alertness, and caused her to develop all those faculties which made for the greatness of her ancient civilization. Men of the Turkish race overthrew the Asiatic empire of Alexander the Great and gave a lasting guide to development in that part of the world, a guide which led it along its own paths, free from the spiritual control of Hellenism, independent of a guardianship which was essentially foreign to its nature. From 200 B.C. the Turks were chasing the Germanic Barbarians out of their forest settlements

in northern and eastern Europe and forcing them to inundate the Roman Empire, by then old and worn-out, and out of the waves and whirls of this flood arose a new civilization. It was again Turks who forced the Slavonic hordes out of their swamps on the Pripiet towards the centre and west of Europe, until they learnt to realize their vital strength in fighting the Germanic tribes and the soldiers of Byzantium, and started to build up the vast edifice of Slavonic culture. All this was the effect of forces emanating from people of Turki stock, the result of the displacement and transformations caused by the wanderings of the Turkish tribes—it makes no difference whether they were called Hiung-Nu, Scythians, Huns or Avars.

GOK-TURKS, WHITE BULGARS, KHAZARS

BUT no less frequently the unleashed and errant forces of this race crystallized into nuclei round which were formed their own social organisms, centres of significant development in political power and of wide intellectual conception. In prehistoric and primitive times as well as in the Middle Ages, countries under Turkish rule have contributed in an essentially valuable way to the progress of culture. Some of these empires have left few traces other than isolated names and a few vague memories, and one can more often only make a guess at the exact location and dates of others. Some, however, are better known to us, thanks to the chroniclers of China, Byzantium and Arabia, and others only quite lately owe their resurrection from the dust of oblivion or misrepresentation to modern science, which has clearly shown the richness of their conceptions. Turkish influence on its immediate or more remote surroundings, on its own or more distant epochs, is clear and easily recognizable.

About the year 200 B.C. peoples of this same Turki stock, to whom history has given the collective name of Huns, came from their habitations on the banks of the Orkhon, and after bringing the whole of Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan under their sway, built up a vast empire which dominated eastern Asia for two hundred and fifty years and which received tribute from the mighty rulers of China—the Han dynasty.

About the fifth century of the Christian era the Turkish Sacae,



or to give them a more correct appellation, the Gok-Turks, held sway over the tablelands at the foot of the Altai Mountains. The Byzantine emperors sent ambassadors to their Khan Dicebalus, seeking alliance and friendship, and their messengers found it difficult to express in adequate terms in the reports they drafted, the admiration they felt for the splendours they had seen: the golden throne, royal tents full of magnificent carpets and precious silks, furs and golden state trappings, the luxury of the court, the order and security of the country and the wide prestige the Khan enjoyed.

Turkish also was the empire founded by the White Bulgars on the banks of the Kama and the Volga. It lasted for six hundred years and only broke up in the thirteenth century in the great upheaval of the nations caused by the campaigns of Genghis Khan. But for over five centuries its capital, Balgar, on the Volga, was a famous centre of trade with the Near and Far East, and its name and fame as a well-organized entrepôt for Muscovy leather and meerschaum, wax, lead and every kind of valuable mineral deposit was spread far beyond its frontiers, and its money was everywhere regarded as a standard of current exchange value.

Another Turkish state lay to the south-west of the Bulgars, the country of the Khazars. From the seventh to the tenth century they vied with many of the principalities of the west in prestige and power, took many of the neighbouring peoples under their protection and became their intellectual leaders and guides.

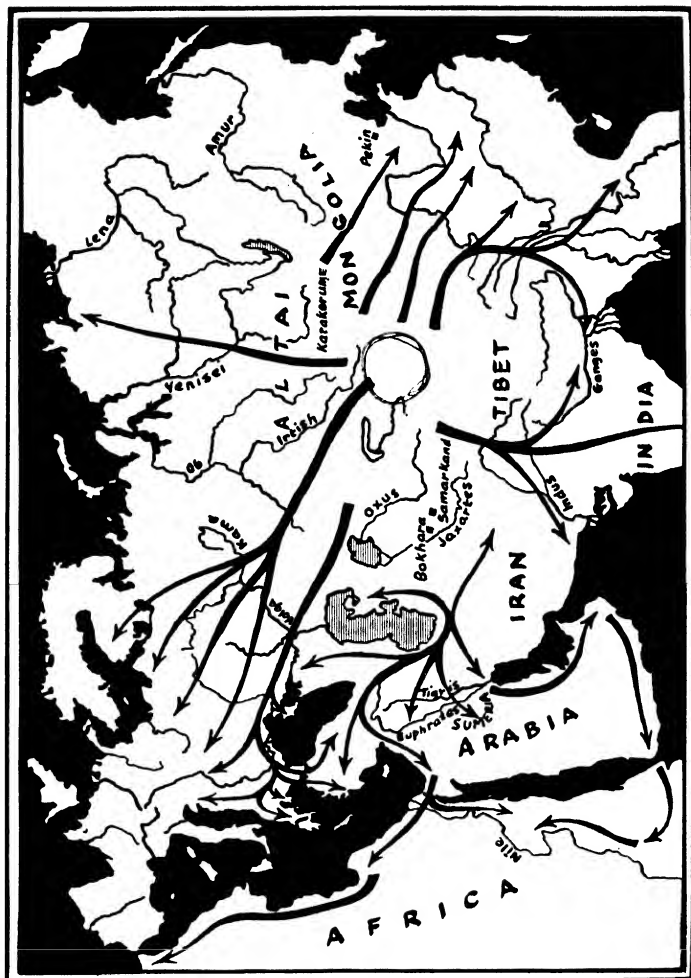
All these Turkish empires, kingdoms, principalities and khanates were sources and radiating centres of the Turkish genius for organization, civilization and culture. They may possibly

have absorbed to a greater or lesser degree peoples of Mongolian, Finnish and other foreign stocks, as was the inevitable consequence of the confusion and mingling of strains resulting from their migrations, wars and conquests, but there is incontestable evidence in their speech, their way of living, their traditions and their customs that the Turkish character maintained itself persistently, unalterably and predominantly. These countries were always the peaks of culture in a vast, intellectually primitive lowland which strove to reach their level, and from them went out an inspiring and provocative challenge which penetrated the most distant and often the most unexpected spheres of culture, where they can still be traced even to-day.

THE UIGHURS

BUT among all these countries and empires, which Turkish peoples had wrested from the soil of Asia during the first thousand years of the Christian era, there was one which had retained and developed its Turkish character, language and culture, untainted by other influences, and had held fast to Turkish intellectual conceptions and distributed them over the largest possible area—those were the Uighurs. From the most remote antiquity they had been living in the valleys of the southern Altai and northern Tien-Shan mountains where they had found arable land and a climate which assured them nourishment. Soon they settled down, built towns and formed a permanent political and economic organization. In a short while they had established their rule and began to stretch out in domination towards the south, west and east. They soon extended their political influence and gave their name to the whole of these territories—"Turkestan"—the Land of the Turks.

Their khan kept a resplendent court on the banks of the Orchon in his capital city of Karabalgasun with its twelve wide gateways and mighty towers, and there he presided in a rich golden pavilion in the midst of nine hundred notables. This is the description given in the tenth century in the "Book of Streets and Lands" by the director of ways and communications of the Caliph Mutamid Billah; and discoveries in the last twenty-five



The Turkish Dynamic Field



cultured language became the official language of the chancellory. The result was that it continued and developed as a spoken and literary language long after the independent state of the Uighurs had come to an end, becoming more refined

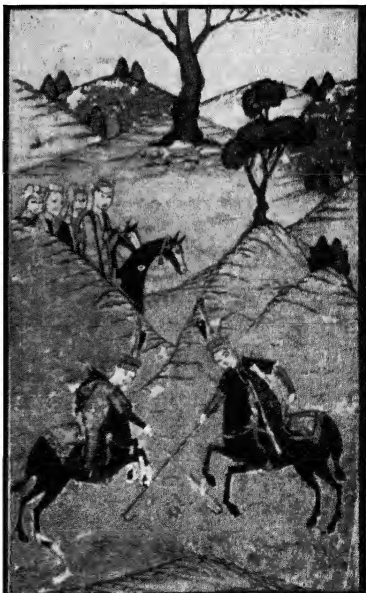
and stylistic, so that even two or three hundred years later literary works of consummate artistic value were produced, proudly exalting the Turks and matching their sense of values in literature and world perceptivity against the predominant Persian trend. At the present time the Uighur, or Jagatai language—so called after Jagatai, one of the sons of Genghis Khan, who then ruled the country—is still a living language among the Turkish peoples of the Tarim Basin, and modern Turkish philologists are drawing heavily upon its valuable linguistic treasure in their efforts to purify and clarify the Turkish language of to-day.

ATTILA

THERE are certain epochs throughout history when the vital energy of a people ceases to be a mere physical urge or the expression of such in the organization of states and centres of intellectual radiation, and achieves the most perfect results by its intimate fusion and concentration in one individual. A people led by such a man then becomes an irresistible force which dominates whole continents, and the lifetime of one man is sufficient to demolish what has resisted for generations, to build up what would otherwise have taken scores of years, and to throw open for ever paths which had seemed in the past impossible to unbar. Those are the epochs of the great figures in the history of the world, periods when the ideas of one individual have succeeded in displacing whole races, uprooting nations and have influenced the development of mankind for long years to come. Only at rare intervals is nature capable of producing these

giants among men, their number can be quickly counted, and three among them are Turks: Attila, Genghis Khan, and Timur or Tamerlane.

Never before the time of Attila had the peoples of Europe and Asia come into such close contact with one another—Attila brought about a new phase in the life of mankind. It is true that particularly intrepid travellers, specially selected ambassadorial missions, or exceptionally daring military leaders, had from time to time crossed the frontiers of these two worlds. The reports they brought back to their native land varied according to the temperament and imagination of the author, resulting in a tissue of actual experience, combined with fiction, of what had been seen and what had been guessed at. Now and then strange merchandise and curious ideas had travelled along the tortuous routes which led from the one part of the globe into the other, but never before had their peoples had occasion to observe each other so closely and extensively, nor had their customs, traditions and cultural ideas met *en bloc*. Attila led the spirit of Asia into the very heart of Europe. At the head of his Turkish kinsmen—the Huns—he commanded a motley crowd of Mongolian tribes and Tartar hordes drawn from the country between the frontiers of China and the Caucasus. He led them along the shores of the Black Sea and then to the Caspian Sea, finally establishing his court on the plains of Hungary to the east of the Danube. Under his banners served a bewildering variety of Germanic tribes; he ruled from Central Asia to the banks of the Rhine; his armies forced their way to the walls of Constantinople, to the



A Turkish Illumination

north of France and to the gates of Rome. He exchanged ambassadors with the Emperor of China, with the Byzantine Basileus and with the Pope of Rome; his couriers travelled throughout the length and breadth of the empire into its most extreme parts; vassals came to his court from the remote lands, and in every province and important town he placed his garrisons and governors.

A new feeling of movement and urgency had come over the world; new languages, new customs, religions they had never even suspected to be in existence, were observed by the peoples and exerted pressure on them. A new knowledge was abroad, horizons hitherto unperceived were opened up to the masses, letting them discern new objectives and bringing them new activities and new ideals. A new era was dawning for the people of Asia and Europe, and they were venturing to take their first steps from decaying antiquity into the awakening epoch of the Middle Ages. The impulse to this came from Attila, from the dynamic force of the Turkish steppes. Attila died in A.D. 453, and the Huns as a national unit disappeared from the face of Europe. They intermingled and became one with the neighbouring peoples, but in these nations the Turkish blood in their veins was to pulsate for all time.

GENGHIS KHAN

EIGHT centuries elapsed and once more the waves of the ocean of the Turkish tribes began to heave and pile up, and once more a leader arose, this time in Karakorum in Mongolia. By uniting the tribes into one vast alliance, he made them the centre and head of the masses of Mongolian hordes and the other nomads of the steppes. This leader was Genghis Khan. In 1214 he led his armies against one of the three Chinese empires, that of the north, and took Peking; afterwards, turning west, he conquered Turkestan, Persia, Armenia, India as far as Lahore, and southern Russia as far as Kiev. He ruled from the shores of the Pacific Ocean to the Dnieper.

Throughout the whole of this vast empire he established the same system of civic security and peace, equal tolerance for every race, religion and language, and in the "Jasau", his great

codification of the ancient laws of the Turkish race, he recognized the same civil rights for foreigners as for his own subjects. By the exercise of equal severity in governing the civilian population in the various provinces, he formed them into a coherent whole, and guaranteed them strong support by means of a most exact military organization. His clear-sighted international policy rested upon a diplomatic intelligence service of the most accurate nature.

The court at Karakorum brought together the representatives of all nations: papal legates, Christian missionaries, Buddhist lamas, Arabic-Islamic philosophers, mathematicians and astronomers from Persia, nobles from Byzantium and Venice. Merchandise travelled in security from far distant lands along the routes of all the countries under the great Khan's sway; there was close contact both within and without the empire, and independent associations connected the whole of Asia with Europe as far west as the Atlantic. Craftsmen went east from France, Italy and Syria, merchants came west from China and Armenia; artists, men of learning and craftsmen from all nations met there, and spurred each other on to perfection; every idea, method and trend of the mediæval world lived and exercised its influence in this mighty social and cultural organization which the statesman-like genius of the great Turkish leader had built.

As in the time of Attila, men cast their blinkers aside; for a moment the old barriers had fallen, new ideas were conceived, and a new understanding was awakened. Once more in Europe and in Asia the dynamic force of one man had galvanized into rejuvenating and fertilizing activity the petrifying inaction of ancient traditions, of religious and dynastic conservatism. Once more people were astounded and full of admiration at the wealth and unending variety of things in the world which were still to be known and understood. Once more the minds of men, from Oxford to Peking, were led into new channels of thought and filled with new ideas. A new epoch in the history of mankind had begun, launched by the forces inherent in the Turkish race.

The successors of Genghis Khan, among them famous generals and powerful monarchs, endeavoured to continue building on the lines laid down by their celebrated predecessor. Ogdai Khan annexed nearly the whole of Russia, conquered Poland and sent



his armies into Hungary. Kublai Khan consolidated Turkish domination over the whole of China. Hulagu Khan advanced into Irak, crossed into Mesopotamia, pressed forward into Syria, and only came to a standstill in Palestine on the

boundaries of Egypt. But they all lacked their predecessor's world-embracing sense of unity and universality, and the world empire broke up into separate states, its intercontinental concentration of power being split up into domination by various national dynasties. The force of Genghis Khan's great universal ideas was denied them; had they possessed it, the history of the world, under Turkish guidance, might have taken an entirely different course.

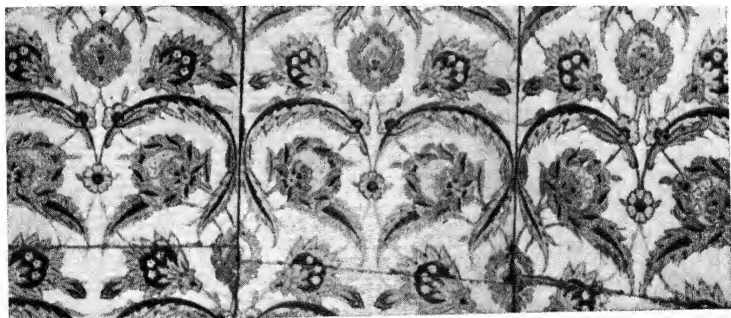
TAMERLANE

FOR a third time it seemed fate wished once more to try and teach mankind unity of thought and lead them along the shortest way towards its realization. Again the waves and forces of destiny embodied this desire in an individual of the Turkish race, in the Turkish leader Timur.

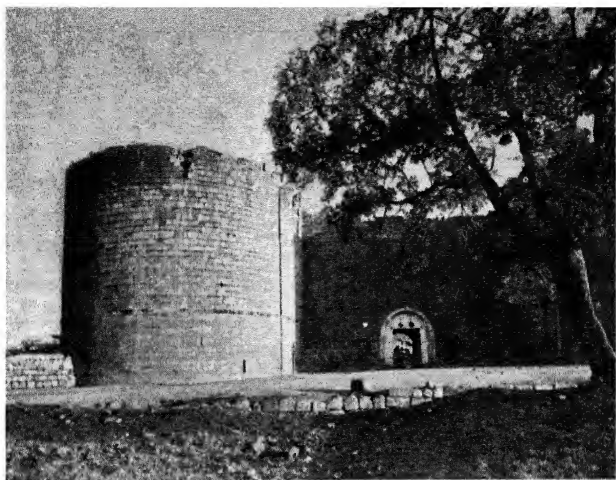
About the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Timur Gurgani, of the Turkish tribe of Barlas, setting out from Samarkand, as before him Genghis Khan had set out farther to the east from Karakorum, united all the Turkish peoples of the tablelands of Central Asia and became the Great Khan. He subdued the remaining independent states into which the empire of Genghis Khan had split, destroyed their boundaries and founded a single empire which extended from Delhi to Anatolia, from the banks of the Don to the Great Wall of China. Russia, Byzantium and Egypt paid him tribute; Persia, India and Syria provided him with troops and equipment; his army was the strongest and best disciplined that had ever been known, its

strategic and tactical technique was invincible and no sacrifice or difficulty was too great for his men. He died, marching against China, at the head of the greatest army of his time, and death alone prevented him from pushing the frontiers of his empire to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

Timur—Tamerlane, as he is generally called—is popularly regarded amongst nations as the savage warrior of the battlefields, as the war god in human form, and as such incorporated into legend and history. But Timur desired neither war nor the victor's glory. Battles, fighting and warfare, where a complete contempt for human life and property held sway, were for him the ultimate means forced on him by necessity when all others had failed. His aim was quite different, and directed to a great, far-flung objective. Timur wanted to create Pan-Asia, an Asia clearly defined and firmly established, organized as one state without internal frontiers or barriers, respected as a powerful dominion, made wealthy by the productivity and trade of its peoples, and brilliant and celebrated for the splendours of its art and culture. An Asia prepared to give the rest of the world what it desired of her, and what it wished to give her she wanted to accept. That was the sole motive of his wars. He never attacked Europe, although it would have fallen an easy prey to him; he never directed his victorious armies against Africa. His field of action was Asia, but he wanted to establish his domain firmly and securely. Once that security was assured, all routes in his empire were open to the world. Europe and Africa found



Faïence (Tiles)

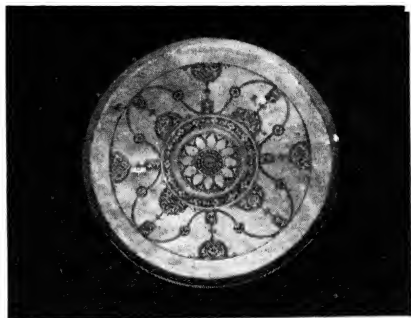


The Fortress of Diarbekir

their markets there, sent there learned men, artists, missionaries, and interchanged ideas. The gates of Samarkand were open to intellectuals of every persuasion, to all artists and scientists from whatever land they might come. Architects, sculptors, painters from every country under the sun contributed to make Samarkand one of the most resplendent of cities; a hundred and fifty thousand master-craftsmen and artisans, assembled there from all over the world, worked to create and adorn its palaces, mosques, caravanserais and gardens. In his moments of leisure Timur was surrounded by poets, learned men and philosophers, who subscribed to the most varied schools of thought and held a wide variety of doctrines.

But Timur's contemporaries understood his ideas as little as those who followed after him. On his death the empire and its unity disappeared; barriers were erected again, the ways were closed once more. Asia split up into several large states, but the inner force was gone. She became the goal of Europe's ambitions, for Europe had seen and learnt to understand. Europe recognized that the restrictive conceptions of the Middle Ages had placed obstacles in the way of intellectual and political develop-

ment and a restraint on territorial expansion. The new learning in Europe was causing the formation of new ideas and aspirations; new social and economic organizations were springing up which would secure for her the domination of the rest of the world. Yet for a long while European historians have refused to recognize the enormous debt Europe owes to the creative force of a Turkish leader.



Chased Silver Salver

CHAPTER II

TURK AND ISLAM

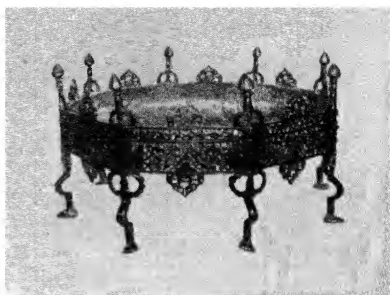
TURKISH FORCE—ISLAM—ANTINOMY—BAGHDAD—THE MAMELUKES
—THE GHAZNAVIDS—THE GHORIDS—THE SHAHS OF KHAREZM—THE
MOGULS—EUROPE AND ASIA—THE TURCOMANS

WHATEVER may have been the time, place and form adopted, the Turkish share in the interplay of world forces which have helped to advance human society has always had a broadening, untrammelled tendency, like the source from which her energy sprang, the vast, boundless steppes. Some deep germinative power seemed to lie within the Turkish race which could only submit to limitations of time, space and thought if they were imposed by nature itself or by the logic of controlled, natural development. It was perhaps this instinctive resistance to limitations in time which caused the Sumerians to discover the art of writing, and thus release the spoken word from the fetters which restricted its duration, and make it timeless. Possibly the same instinct prompted the Hittites to seek immortality for their art in the imperishable rocks of Anatolia.

Everything that retarded and confined ran contrary to the very nature of this germinative power and had to be hastened, or unleashed, or overcome in some way or another wherever it was encountered. It was this innate craving for the boundless and universal which led the Turkish race from the Pacific Ocean to the land of the Gauls and drove them to spread their ideas over the earth from the Indus to Novgorod by means of tribal migrations, states and dynasties. This passionate desire had brought about the erection—three times within less than a thousand years—of the greatest of supra-continental empires and helped again

and again to unite and give a sense of universality to distinct and separate civilizations and doctrines.

This same instinct for free development was to be found in their social life. None of the early Turkish empires had admitted that



system of castes and classes which was to become so prominent in Egypt, India and China, however close her contacts may have been with those countries and peoples. Never had the slightest religious intolerance taken root nor the superiority of one faith or sect been asserted over another. The Khazars adopted Judaism, yet Methodius, the apostle of the Slavs, preached Christianity to them without let or hindrance. Manichæism was widely believed among the Uighurs, but neither the teachers of Buddhism nor those who expounded the "Word of Mahomet" met with the slightest opposition. Kublai Khan placed on a level of equality Moses and Jesus, Buddha and Mahomet as prophets of the Truth without prejudice or partiality for one or the other, for it would have been incomprehensible to him that the revelation of divine truth could be limited to one single individual. Wherever the driving force of Turkish influence was involved in the mechanism of human evolution it tended towards harmony, order and the removal of obstacles.

ISLAM

ABOUT the middle of the seventh century of the Christian era, when the world was engaged in one of the sternest fights for a new spiritual concept, an unsuspected problem for which it was totally unprepared was placed before it, threatening unending chaos by the very suddenness with which it upset the equilibrium the world had hitherto maintained with such difficulty. This danger was Islam. It was the Turkish race which took it upon itself to face the menace and help solve the problem which the

rest of the world could never have solved unassisted. Islam had come out of the deserts of Arabia. It had been conceived there among the Bedouin tribes, independent and leaderless groups constantly warring one against the other, and there its powerful hold on the minds of men had accomplished its object.

Babylon, Egypt, Assyria and Persia had each tried to incorporate the Arabs within their cultural sphere but had failed. Trajan, with difficulty, had succeeded in placing the northern part of Arabia under the Roman imperium, but Roman influence was unable to penetrate very deeply for any length of time. Judaism and Christianity did their utmost to gain a foothold, but they scarcely got beyond its outermost edge. In Arabia's endless deserts they had just crumbled to pieces, dissolved, faded away, like the stone of the rocky tablelands, the sands of the deserts, and the mirage.

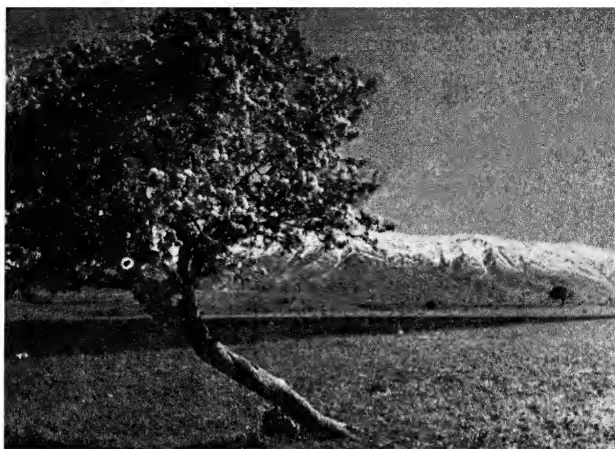
But Islam had accomplished the great miracle of Arabia—it had united and organized the scattered, independent tribes and groups, it had given Mahomet and the first caliphs as leaders to those who had always been leaderless, it had provided an ideal for those who up till that time had neither aim nor plan, and had bound by strict rules those who formerly had neither discipline nor control. And unalarmed, like the primitive people they were, they had followed blindly. The word of Mahomet, resounding in the uneventful monotony of Africa's deserts—the first and only voice to reverberate there—swelled up into powerful and dominant tones. In overwhelming triumph, by force of arms, it was borne over the whole of Northern Africa as far as Spain, and eastwards over nearly half Asia. The Arabo-Islamic assault came upon the world like a hurricane; with difficulty Europe managed to make the Pyrenees its bulwark of protection, but Asia remained paralysed and stupefied beneath the deadly heat of this Arabian simoon.

ANTINOMY

ULTIMATELY the inherent forces of the Turkish race raised a barrier in the path of this current which had seemed irresistible, and by stemming and diverting the floods, rendered its various movements, forms and phenomena productive. The Turkish

conception of life and Islamism were diametrically opposed. The former tended to unite mankind and bind all peoples together, whereas Islamism divided them into "believers" and "infidels"; the one sought to open wide the whole world to man's activity and search for knowledge, the other confined all thought and creative activity to the narrow path of religious laws and to the tortuous alleys of clerical interpretation. The one liberated the state, law, politics and military organization from the control of religion and cult, rejected class distinction as tending to split up the social structure and life of the people; the other had laid down for the people as a whole as well as for the individual every act and omission for every hour of the day, and had prescribed its every law and formula. The one was the sponsor of a spontaneous, organic, natural necessity; whereas Islamism was the arbitrary ruler who commanded much more than its own territory—faith and the church—it commanded everything, man's whole life, his family ties, his social and political relationships, law, morality, culture, art, philosophy, literature, his wants and his trade, his thoughts and his emotions. Islamism governed every ambition, every aim, every force in human existence.

The Turks adopted the faith of Islam spontaneously without being constrained thereto by the military force of Arabia—so many religions and beliefs had found refuge with them in the course of time and events—but soon they had loosened the shackles with which it had sought to bind the "Kingdom of this World" to the realm of faith and God. They left spiritual power to the caliphs, but dispossessed them of the sword of secular might. In the caliphates of Baghdad and Cairo, Turks took the highest places at court and in the army, in the provinces and emirates, and forced the intolerant self-sufficiency of the Bedouin mind to give way. They became governors and princes, vassals of the caliphs in name, but in reality masters by the power which they had acquired, and bit by bit, in one country after another, they broke down the theocratic dictatorship of Mahomet's successors. They built mosques, they read the Koran, but everywhere under their ægis in the Mahommedan east there was freedom for scholarship, research and artistic perception; a new light had appeared in the darkness which Mahomet and the caliphs—"the Shadows of God on Earth"—had spread over the globe.



View of the Country near Malatia

Behind the protective strength of Turkish rule the naïvely materialistic world-concept which the Koran had devised for the primitive psychology of the Bedouin, with his coarsely sensitive perceptions, underwent a transformation and became an immaterial, abstract conception, vast and universal. But this advance in the realm of ideas was not achieved by Islamism itself; in Persia it had encountered the teachings of Zoroaster, in Syria and Egypt Hellenic philosophy and scholasticism. It had found Christian doctrine in various forms, and beside them the traditions of Judaism. It came up against all the many currents of culture and ethics, philosophy and mysticism which Turkish spheres of influence had freed and to which they had given new movement, and from all these ideas and activities of the most diverse nature was formed a colourful mosaic, as colourful and varied as were the stones which individuals had given to its composition from their own cultural edifice, as many-hued and diversely shaped as their countries of origin and their views.

The Koran was spread over this, but it was merely its outermost cover. Islam gave it a name and a certain uniformity in religious matters; it entailed Arabic as the language of its followers just as Latin was the ritual language of the Christian world of the West. Centuries later, when the Ottoman sultans

sought to resurrect the long-departed cæsaro-papism of Byzantium as a means of upholding the political power of their dynasty, they once more summoned from its grave the ghost of the theocratic caliphate; but this was a serious historical blunder caused by a short-sighted, egoistic desire to dominate, and it ran absolutely contrary to Turkish ideology and Islamic world-concepts of that period.

BAGHDAD

THIS great fusion of spiritual ideas, this transformation and new inspiration, extended from the western boundaries of China to Syria, from India to the Caspian Sea, throughout Egypt and almost the whole of northern Africa—wherever Turks held office or posts of influence, it was activated and inspired by them. Their spheres of influence soon developed into Turkish states with princely dynasties which endured for several generations. Sometimes Turkish generals in the service of foreign states made themselves into independent heads of regions, provinces and states which disintegrated at their death; at other times certain classes of Turkish dignitaries in the army, at court, or in the administration of foreign countries became a united leading set, determining not only a system of government, but the political and cultural destiny of the state.

It is true that all these sultanates, kingdoms and principalities constantly fought each other, their peoples became intermingled and their reign was of short duration, but in reality under this superficial confusion and upheaval there flowed the broad stream of the Turkish concept of life, equable and unifying, bearing the cultural and spiritual structure of a continent and making history.

After the first century of its existence the whole of the Mahommedan Empire was Turkish in essence—the court at Baghdad as well as the government. The sole exception was the caliphs, who were descended from the Arab family of the Abbasides. But all official positions, from the highest to the lowest, at court and in the administration of the state, were in the hands of Turks. The palace guard, as well as the caliph's bodyguard, were Turks; the officials in the provinces were Turks; so also were the army officers. Turks decided the appointment of generals, and nominated the governors. Each change in ruler

increased their influence and brought the government of the country more firmly under Turkish control. Towards the end of the tenth century A.D. Turks were able to determine the fate of the caliphs of Baghdad—they had become the protectors of the caliphs and could dethrone and install them as they pleased, and to them is due the imperishable name of Baghdad. These Turkish princes and noblemen summoned to that great city celebrated teachers and philosophers; they founded academies and schools which maintained contact with all the great centres of learning from Cordova to Samarkand. Every liberty was allowed to speculative thought and research, and discussion was provoked on every conceivable theme of human knowledge. They laid the foundations of a new intellectual development.

THE MAMELUKES

FROM the metropolis, Baghdad, this influence extended to the provinces. By A.D. 850 the Turkish family of the Tulnides had become hereditary regents in Egypt and Syria. They ruled in the name of the caliph, but in fact they were practically the sovereigns. When chroniclers describe the wealth and splendour of the court of the Tulnides, it seems as if the "Arabian Nights Tales" were coming to life. The palace had gold and painted ceilings, gardens full of the most wonderful flowers and the rarest birds. There was a mercury lake—excavations have laid bare the lake basin and thus confirmed this ancient report—and on this lake the prince passed the summer nights sleeping in a floating tent guarded by tame lions. But when the Fatimite family claimed closer right of succession to the caliphate than the Baghdad caliphs, and set up a rival caliph at Cairo, it did not take the Turks long to become the power behind the throne there as in Baghdad. Turkish soldiers—"Mamelukes", as they were called—conducted the caliphs' wars, assured the stability of their rulers and became, as they had done in Baghdad, their emirs and eventually their masters.

With the exception of one short interval the Turkish Mamelukes reigned as sultans over Egypt for three hundred years. It was rare for the same family to retain the crown for successive generations, and even then it was only because the ruling sultan's

heir understood how to guard the royal sceptre for himself by the strength of his personality, for each one of the sultan's vassals considered himself the rival of his heir, whether he were an officer of the guard, governor of a province or merely a nobleman without office or rank, and each one of them had his own army of mercenaries, a palace which was at the same time a fortress, and was a sultan in miniature.

But the period of the Turkish Mamelukes will always remain one of the most brilliant in the long history of Egypt. Under their firm rule the country enjoyed security and order, economic wealth increased, merchants, learned men and artists from Persia, India and the countries of the Franks met in the cities of Egypt, and at the courts of the sultans and emirs. The art and refinements of culture as well as the scientific knowledge of three continents combined to immortalize their glory in the palaces, mosques, schools, hospitals and tombs which were erected there. From their libraries, skilled calligraphists were employed to illuminate their chronicles and copies of the Koran with arabesques and miniature paintings, which by the very play of their fancy and brilliance are an ever-new and inexhaustible source of inspiration. At their behest magnificent doors, lattices, ceilings and screens were carved; they inspired the forging and chasing of gold and silver inlaid decorated dishes and ewers, lamps and mirrors, candelabra and writing-sets. The weaving of the most delicate veils, muslins and cambrics, of damask stiff with gold, gorgeous silks and soft supple woollen fabrics was due to them. The Turkish Mamelukes, with their love and understanding of all that was beautiful, with their imperative urge towards liberty of creation and development, made Egypt into one of the radiating centres of a new civilization.

THE GHAZNAVIDS

VERY SOON, and without even a struggle, Turks had dominated the political structures of Persia, Afghanistan, Irak and India. Turks everywhere, governors of provinces, army leaders, captains of mercenaries, fought free of the temporal dominance of the caliphate and formed military autocracies of a more or less solid and durable type. In spite of their motives and plans being

inspired largely by personal ambition, and although individually they scarcely understood the deeper significance of their problems and period, their epoch, if one sets aside the transient surface confusion of the time, reveals clearly its characteristic Turkish features. From this kaleidoscopic medley some states stand out more clearly because of their organization, their extent or their duration, and some monarchs are pre-eminent for their personal bravery or talents, but in all of them the liberating, universal, specifically Turkish tendencies can be perceived with absolute clarity.

About A.D. 960 a Turkish captain of the caliph's bodyguard called Alp Tegin became lord of Ghazna, an ancient Afghan mountain fortress. Within a few years he had seized power over the whole of Afghanistan, over vast territories in Persia as far as Peshawar—the gateway to the plains of India. Mahmud, the third of the Ghaznavid rulers, reigned over Persian Khorassan and the eastern part of Irak, extended his sway north to Bokhara and Samarkand and south as far as the mouth of the Indus, and towards the east to Delhi. He extracted tribute also from the Hindu princes of the valleys of the Ganges. In Ghazna he assembled a treasure, the booty of his exploits, built splendid palaces and a great mosque, the celebrated "Bride of Heaven", and adorned it with marble and the golden gates he had taken from the Hindu temple in the conquered town of Somnath. Although religious intolerance was foreign to Mahmud, he was the first Mahomedan ruler to bear the title of Sultan—"Centralizer of all power"—and thereby marked the line of cleavage between the spiritual domain of the caliph and his own, between "what was God's and what was Cæsar's". The court at Ghazna attracted all that was extolled by poets or learned men, by Turks, Indians and Persians, and the Persian poet Firdausi has preserved the memory of Ghaznavid glory for ever. At Ghazna, under Turkish rule, the threads of Turkish, Persian and Indian thought were woven into a close and durable fabric. Until our present time Mahmud's name and fame has endured in many legends throughout the east, and the remains of inscriptions on the minarets of his tomb and two carved cedarwood gates evoke a mental picture of the glory of Turkish art and the spirit of that epoch.

THE GHORIDS

THE Turkish family of the Ghorids, vassals of Mahmud of Ghazna, about A.D. 1000, ruled over the country of Ghor from their castle at Firoz-Koh high up in the Afghan mountains, their territory extending from Ghazna to Herat. Gradually, as Mahmud's successors lost their ruling influence, this family extended its fief so that by A.D. 1150 they had thrust their former lords out of the family stronghold at Ghazna and driven them back into the Indian part of their empire at Lahore. Mohamed, the next in the Ghorid line, pressed forward into the Punjab and Sind and overthrew the Indian empire of the Ghaznavids. His successors ruled over territory extending far into southern India and became the founder of the sultanate of Delhi, that was later to be overthrown by another Turkish ruler, the great Tamerlane.

To-day Delhi presents only the shadow of the splendour of Ghorid days. Its chroniclers have extolled in inspired fashion its palaces with their gilded tiled roofs and endless series of halls, their ceilings dazzling with colour and supported by lacquered columns, the sultan's throne of solid gold encrusted with precious stones, the canopy of cloth of gold and rich silks. They told of the mosques surrounded by arcades, with their snow-white sparkling marble minarets ornamented with golden balls and pointed finials, of baths full of artistic treasures, of bridges, canals and fountains—concrete proof of the love of art and culture inspired by the Turkish sultans.

THE SHAHS OF KHAREZM

TOWARDS the end of the eleventh century A.D. the Turkish general Nushtekin Gartshah held in fief the province of Kharezm on the lower reaches of the Oxus—to-day the district of Choresm in the Soviet Republic of Usbeskistan. His son enlarged their territory and the prestige the family enjoyed and took the title of Shah of Kharezm. Two succeeding generations of rulers extended their sway as far as the Persian Gulf, to the Euphrates in the west and as far north as the Volga. About A.D. 1200 Shah Mohamed Kutb-ed-Din captured Herat and Ghazna from the Ghorid sultans



as well as their native land of Ghor, and subjected Bokhara and Samarkand to his rule.

The court of Mohamed Kutb-ed-Din was a centre for learned men and artists, and stimulated by his love of luxury, art, handicrafts and trade developed rapidly and profusely, his fame spreading far into the east and west. Shah Mohamed is extolled by his biographers and called "Iskender-I-Sani" — the second Alexander the Great. It needed the might of Genghis Khan to destroy this splendour. Djelal-ed-Din, the last

Shah of Kharezm, fought battle after battle until he made his last stand with a few remaining warriors on the banks of the Indus and lost his kingdom. But he swam across the river and made his way through to southern Persia, where he gathered together new troops, made himself once more a ruler over territory which extended almost to the boundaries of Syria, and fought on until finally he succumbed to the repeated attacks of his invincible enemy.

THE MOGULS

ABOUT A.D. 1500 Baber, a grandson of Tamerlane, and on the maternal side a descendant of Genghis Khan, thrust his way over the Hindu-Kush Mountains and founded a new Turkish dynasty in India. History records it as the Mogul dynasty, and with Delhi as its capital it held sway over the greater part of India right into the eighteenth century. The Mogul princes were clear-headed, deliberate organizers with a keen eye to the economic and political structure of their state. With the

assistance of all available technical knowledge they increased the yield of the soil and systematically extended the amount of agricultural land. They sought to base national prosperity primarily on that of the peasant. A rigid system, on purely military lines, regulated in clear and definite terms all the government services, and the status of officials, including those at the court, was ordered in military fashion. But with that was united the finest feeling for everything of an artistic nature. Baber's own personal taste and partiality for Turkish decorative ornament and Turkish architectonics caused him to summon from Istanbul, at an early date in his reign, the scholars who had assisted Sinan in his ambitious architectural schemes—and their faculty for harmonizing in the most distinctive way architectural and natural beauty led them to create a typical period in art; and although each one of them was surrounded by a staff of Turkish, Persian and even European artists, the style of the period embodied in the most significant form their own individual and characteristic interpretation.

The clearest example of the characteristics of this Turkish dynasty is afforded by Akbar, Baber's grandson. He was a great warrior—he annexed the whole of upper India, half Afghanistan, Kashgar, Bihar, Bengal and a large part of the Deccan; he was also a statesman—neither before his reign nor after did the land enjoy greater affluence, better laws and order; he was an artist—during his reign India was enriched by some of its most beautiful buildings, Delhi was an academy of all the arts, yet every activity and enterprise bears the impress of his personality and demonstrates his taste and ideas. He was a philosopher and free-thinker who in his quest of truth held aloof from all orthodox creeds. He studied the Hindu texts, was deeply versed in Brahmanism as well as in the teachings of Roman Catholicism, and laid down rules for a free, chaste, honourable life on lines of the purest eclecticism, based on the precepts of all and every religion. His motto was—"Peace for all".

EUROPE AND ASIA

In time Turkish states with their courts, armies, officials and tribal alliances, representing the overflowing plenitude of the

Turkish race in the most varied stages of cultural development from the most highly civilized to independent nomad tribes, covered Afghanistan, Persia, India, Syria and Egypt. Their political and social centres might change, their importance might vary, but like the core of a magnetic field, they continually attracted the best minds from among their own people and from without. They radiated from country to country, from nation to nation an influence, which because of its inspiration to speculative thought and feeling for international unity, transformed the simple primitive concept of Mahommedan theocracy into a science, into a universal conception, a cultural system which had scarcely anything in common with any set form of religion, with clergy and the churches' temporal claims. And in spite of battles, wars and devastation, in the face of the instability and transient nature of instinct, this great, binding, constructive impulse of Turkish inspiration persisted.

During this same epoch the western half of the globe was passing with difficulty through a similar period of transition, but it lacked this unifying power. In spite of the more limited space in which it was taking place, the way was much harder and a much greater sacrifice was demanded. The western world had diminished in extent: the Moors held Spain, Turkish stock—the Avars or Magyars—had advanced as far as the banks of the Danube, and others, the Bulgars, the Petchenegs and the Kumani, had crossed it and penetrated far beyond. Greek dominion was limited to the district round Constantinople and the coastal areas of Asia Minor. Latin as a living language could only be found in the churches and monasteries. Italy, middle and western Europe had just taken the first steps towards a new civilization. And these restricted limits exacerbated the battle over phantoms of the past, and exaggerated anachronisms. Popes and emperors clung to the world-power idea of the Roman Empire, which was already in decline, and which kept the nations apart in enemy camps for centuries. Theological sophisms split the Christian Church in half, the one part Greek, the other Latin, and as a result divided European culture into two sections. The rigidity of the feudal system broke up social unity by an unnatural class distinction. Separatism and the jealousy engendered by a system of small states, hindered intercourse and any exchange of com-

mercial and intellectual values. In vain the more enlightened fought for alliances, for agreement, for change; the passions of the masses flamed once more into a feverish fanaticism. The final result of all this conflict was that paroxysm of the Christian world of the West—the Crusades—and their devastation of the culture of the whole world—destruction which up to the present has not been made good. Perhaps had the Turkish conception prevailed, as it had in the Islamic east, and guided its inspiration, Europe might have been spared this.

THE TURCOMANS

DURING these centuries of the formation of Islam, the Turkish race was intimately connected with the intellectual and social life of the most varied peoples. It fought with them, ruled them, lived with them; it listened to their speech, observed their art, understood their poetry, but it never lost its identity. It grew by helping others to develop, it learnt by teaching others, it differentiated itself in contrast with others, but in all its travels and transformations it kept the characteristic traits of its being, the consciousness of its own specific nature. Geographical and climatic differences in the vast area through which it conducted its historic mission during this epoch, altered in a few isolated cases its customs and habits, developed various faculties and external peculiarities, and split up its language into various groups and dialects. These isolated cases and sections, however, preserved the memory of their ancient common origin, and till quite late in the Ottoman Empire the “Uzan” or bards in Anatolia sang of the glorious days of the steppes, of the “Oghuz-Zamani”—that is, “the days of Oghuz” and their hero Korkut, just as to-day the folk-songs of the Turcoman tribes of Central Asia extol him as saint, sage and hero.

The race remained Turkish despite the period of storm and stress when Islam had so overwhelmed it, in spite of that Arabic religion which owes its ennoblement and spirituality to Turkish ability, in spite of Indian philosophy, Persian art and poetry which developed so rapidly with the impetus given it by Turkish inspiration, in spite of all this and much more. When, however, the tendencies directing the formation of human civilization



Mountain Scenery in Anatolia

began to be so diverse that people were forced to confine themselves to their own lands, in ever closer economic and cultural unity, so as to avoid losing their way in this diversity, and when a common fate in a land common to them all turned a people into a nation and that land into a fatherland, then the Turkish peoples became Turkish nations. For some this took place early in their history, for others later; for some the change was easy, for others difficult. History has refused even up to now to record national unity for some.

But there can be no doubt that from Chinese Turkestan to the frontiers of Egypt and the Byzantine Empire the great Oghuz group lived, divided into twenty-four tribes, some pagan, some Christian, until in the tenth century A.D. they embraced the faith of Islam. They called themselves "Türkmen"—Turcomans. Very early on, Turcoman groups migrated to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, others went north and crossed the Danube, reached Salonika and Thessaly, fought the soldiers of Byzantium and the Petchenegs, spread themselves over the whole of the Balkan countries and finally took service in the Byzantine army. Many of the tribes had been carried forward in the seventh century by the first waves of the Arabian advance to Syria and Mesopotamia, and eventually reached Anatolia. More and more

of the Turcoman flood streamed into Anatolia. A part of the ancient inhabitants, a compound of races intermingled for many thousands of years, presumably adopted Islam, but the major portion wandered farther, disappeared, renouncing for ever the soil of Anatolia. The Oghuz Turks exchanged the saddle for the plough, the tent for the hut, and began the laborious conquest of the harsh soil of Anatolia. Foot by foot they forced it to give them their daily bread, from its clay they moulded the bricks for their houses, from its rocks they hewed the stone blocks for the walls which protected them and which they built into strongholds and temples. This soil became the source of their existence, into it went all their energy and from it they received in return life. To it they devoted all their toil and care, in it lay the realization of all their hopes. Anatolia had become their home, their fatherland—in Anatolia a Turkish people had become a Turkish nation.

CHAPTER III

ANATOLIA

THE MACHINE INVADES ANATOLIA—HITTITE, HELLENIC, BYZANTINE ELEMENTS—THE STEPPES, ROCKS, FORESTS, SEAS—SHEPHERDS, PEASANTS AND TOWNSFOLK—BEGS AND SULTANS—THE SELJUK ERA—THE FIRST OTTOMAN RULERS—THE TURKISH SPIRIT AND ANATOLIA

ONLY a few years ago a swamp lay at the foot of the western slope of that rocky hill which is crowned by the citadel walls of Ankara, and which since time immemorial has been a solid rampart against all the invasions which intersperse its history. To-day the swamp has disappeared and in its place is a network of asphalted roads and newly made avenues and the unbroken surface of house frontages, stretching far away over the full width of the plain to join at the limit of vision the outline of the mountains. There New Turkey is constructing the new exhibition buildings on a solid bed of concrete sunk in what was formerly a muddy swamp, and there she has arranged, with the help of colour and plaster, of metal bands and strips, an instructional exhibit which shows the first ten years of the new economic régime. A few bold lines, precise angles and perspective planes form a picture which portrays the latest invasion of Anatolia—the invasion of the Machine. Out of a forest of chimney-stacks and factories, are spread all over the landscape motors, dynamos, electric power plants, and buildings of reinforced concrete, and round them, like the zigzag flashes of lightning, vibrates the energy produced by steam, petrol and electric power machinery; they heap the desert sands up into new factories, assemble the boulders into big industrial constructions, and drag them from there across to the other workshops and factories.



Machinery comes to Anatolia

Anatolia has got used to machinery. It is gaining ground and beginning to dominate. In Kaiseria, Eregli and Nazili machines are busy spinning and weaving and finishing; they produce paper and cellulose at Ismid, at Ushak, Eskishehir and Turhal sugar, at Zonguldak coke, at Gemlik artificial silk; at Keciburlu they pour out metal, at Isparta they distil essential oil of roses. They have brought into existence the industrial centres of Yerkoy and Kirikale. They move, nourish and clothe more than half the population of Anatolia; soon, perhaps, they will be doing this for the whole of the country. They adapt to their needs the Turkish soil and its products, and the Turkish peasant to the adjustment of their mechanism. For them roads are being constructed, tracks laid, electric cables stretched on pylons; for them banks are being established and commercial treaties concluded; plans are made for them and buildings erected to house

them, and the youth of the country is being educated in their use. In the short space of ten years the invasion of the machine has made a conquest of Anatolia.

During this decade Anatolia has been transformed from the indifferent passivity of a colonized country into colonizing activity. But the achievements of those ten years do not end there. By its own strength, and in the face of the opposition of the whole world, the nation has established itself as a military, political and economic power, it has freed society, education and the law from the age-old fanaticism of clerical reaction, and has begun to liberate both language and literature, art and music, from the stultifying growth of foreign influence. During that period the history of events, and research into the origin and development of the people, has changed them from being the mere tools of dynastic egoism into a vital element of national value. Within these ten years in Anatolia the Turkish spirit has regained faith in itself and realized the proper path to reach its goal, not by indulging in extravagant dreams of Utopias, but by starting off from a real base—Anatolia, and relying on the soil of Anatolia—on the New Turkey. That is the great historical event of our time. Nevertheless, whatever has been effected in Anatolia during that time, and whatever her future development may be, nothing could have been accomplished without the embodiment of those essentially Turkish characteristics of guidance and world-concept in one personality, that of the leader—Ghazi Mustapha Kemal. He led his nation to freedom on the field of battle, and guided his victorious troops safely through the entanglements of international-vested interests and the vacillation of internal politics to concrete realities. He taught the people to break through the crust of superstition and prejudice and grasp at modern truth. He gave the nation faith and confidence, a fresh strength and ordered organization—he gave her progress. It was Ghazi Mustapha Kemal who roused and inspired the mighty latent energy of the people and bound it to Anatolia, for he understood the all-powerful, inexhaustible abundance lying within its soil, ready to give out new energy when fecundated by real vigour, and this source of power has been intermingled by him with the flow of Turkish energy. That is the great historic achievement of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal.

SINCE the spirit of mankind first became susceptible to culture, Anatolia has been a source and liberal dispenser of powerful, rousing inspiration whenever and wherever it has been sought for among the many and changing forms of its vast territory. More than fifty centuries ago, from out the Stone Age, the first call came to the Hittites. It came from the very heart of the country, from the land where the River Halys makes a great curve in the undulating pastures of the treeless plains, with their oak-crowned hills of granite and sandstone and their moist and fertile valleys. Here flourished an empire, which spread the fruitful influence of its highly developed intellectual and imaginative faculties and its social and economic activity to its farthest shores, and even across the sea into the cultural spheres of the Ægean, Crete and Mycenæ. The seed thus sown bore flower and fruit for over two thousand years; time, circumstance and the character of the different peoples may have modified its influence somewhat, but it always remained part of the germinative force of Anatolia.

Then, in the first millennium B.C., a host of Barbarians came like a mighty flood from the north, hurled itself over the Balkans, over the Greek Archipelago and the Anatolian shores. They devastated and burnt down palaces and towns and built their wretched huts and villages from the treasures they had smashed to pieces. An old and brilliant civilization disappeared in ruins and darkness. These destroyers were the first hordes of the Greeks, still barbarians. But in Anatolia the feeble spark of Greek civilizing energy began to glow brightly. From the ninth to the fifth century B.C. Greek colonies, towns, republics and confederations sprang up along the Anatolian coast, in its bays and inlets. Here navigation and commerce developed and wealth increased, thought, criticism and logic came to life and new poetical forms were evolved. From out the soil of Anatolia the primal urge of the Greeks raised up Hellenic Ionia: Cnidos and Halikarnassos, Ephesus and Miletus, Pergamon and Magnesia were the sources of Hellenism that Anatolia nourished. From there teachers went east to Lydia, Lycia and Phrygia and to Troy,



Hittite Relief, carved in stone, at Bogasköy

west to the Ægean Archipelago and Crete, to Corinth and Athens. Ionian Anatolia was, up to the fifth century B.C., the master-teacher and dispenser of the culture of the Hellenic world.

The passing of centuries and the flood of events made the old way of thought and the newer classic perceptions give place to Christianity, and so Byzantium was created. Byzantium was the embodiment of the concept of fusing together all that was eternal and great in both civilizations, the union of west and east. That thought must be reckoned as one of the greatest and strongest that mankind has ever formed—that it failed is one of the signs of its inherent weakness. But it endured, with more or less force, for fully a thousand years, and for those thousand years its substance, its main support, its physical existence was Anatolia. Anatolia supplied the Byzantine Empire with the greater part of its corn, its best soldiers, and its taxes were the most productive. It provided forceful emperors, victorious generals, loyal officials and skilful diplomats. The most famous cathedral in Constantinople was built by Anatolian architects. Byzantium might lose Italy, Africa, and half the Balkan states, Bulgars, Arabs and Russians might assail the very walls of its capital, but the empire remained strong as long as it could hold on to Anatolia. The whole of the European part of the empire—Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Constantinople itself—was already held by the small, feudal Latin states, but Byzantium lived on in Nicæa, in

Anatolia. Once more Anatolia gave Byzantium of its substance and sought to reconstitute the empire from Anatolian territory, until it understood the call of a more powerful inspiration and followed it alone—the call of Turkey. It was at Trabzon (Trebizond) that the last spark of that flame of inspiration which had been Byzantium was finally extinguished.

Towards the close of the first century of our era came a period of intellectual darkness; the old precepts had gradually lost their clarity without the surrounding gloom being pierced by the vital glow of a new principle. All intellectual investigation and seeking for knowledge lay under the ban of religious controversy, and revolved in the same vicious circle round similar theological dogmas, whether the Bible, the Talmud or the Koran was in question. The forms of national existence showed the same instability and lack of definition; states constantly altered their frontiers, and society sought in vain for a centre where it might crystallize into a nucleus capable of resisting the menace around it. In those parts of the globe it was a period without any real greatness, without a single constructive force. And it was just at this time that an historic destiny caused the migration of the first compact masses of the Oghuz Turks to Anatolia.

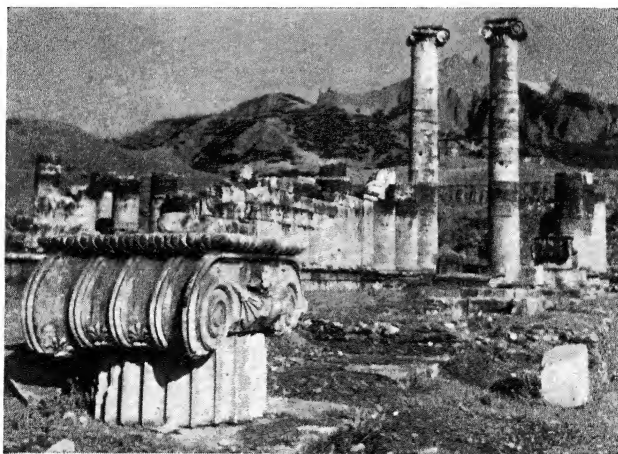
About A.D. 950 they were still in the region of Bokhara, skilled in the use of arms, and chosen as its protectors against the invading nomad tribes from the bordering steppes. Their leader was Seljuk, and he gave his name to one of the most brilliant periods of Turkish history. His grandsons Togrul and Chakar drove the princes of Ghazna from Khorassan and conquered Persia as far as the Persian Gulf. They united more and more Turkish tribes and took possession of many more lands. They occupied the whole of Media and all Irak. They entered Baghdad and became protectors of the caliphs and finally rulers over the entire caliphate. From Baghdad Togrul and his nephew, Alp Arslan, crossed the Byzantine frontier, marched into the land lying west of the Euphrates and occupied Cappadocia, Armenia, Georgia and half of Phrygia. The era of the Oghuz, or Ghuzz Turks in Anatolia had begun.

WHAT invested the nature of this land with its eternal, inexhaustible abundance, with its capacity to bestow new and valuable gifts which themselves engender and produce at the most distant times and places further new and valuable matter? Whence comes the motivating impulse of this never-ending cycle? Is it because the land itself has been shaped out of matter and concepts so vast that it is confounded in the everyday thought and commerce of mankind with the infinite and eternity? The steppes of Anatolia—vast, boundless, undulating plains: endless, earthy-brown, brownish-grey, greenish-blue—the infinite monotony of rustling, colourless, formless pasture-lands. And over all the blinding sunshine, the air vibrant with heat. Here and there a sparse line of poplars, and stretching away to the horizon the stony beds of streams dried up by the summer drought. Occasionally in this arid, scorching plain can be seen the puzzling phenomenon of a tree, and sheltering in the dappled shade of its thick branches a flock of exhausted sheep all huddled together. Hour after hour, all day long, in mute acceptance of the immutability of existence, a span of heavy, black, sturdy buffaloes treads steadily along, dragging across the Anatolian steppes a wagon built of great heavy beams and boards, its single pair of solid wheels squeaking and creaking and groaning endlessly, changelessly.

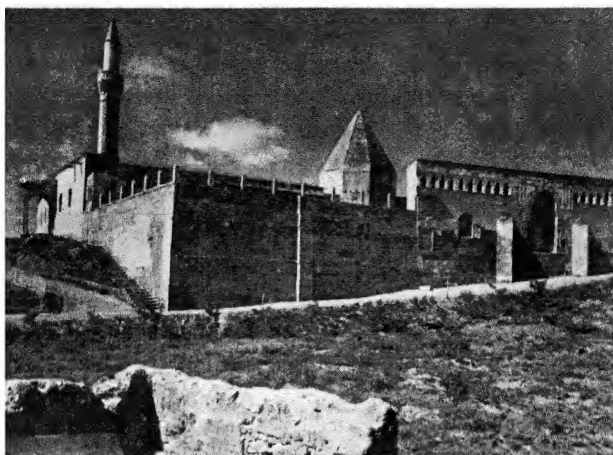
The rocks—grey, bare and sharp. Their fissured, rigid masses withstanding the heat of summer and the cold of winter, rain and sun, time and eternity. From their mountain peaks boulder after boulder hurtles into the depths of the valley below; from their steep slopes slide masses of rubble and dust into the ravines, without the pebbles being rounded, the craggy peaks made smooth and the jagged crevices filled. The rocks are reduced to a sharp grit, the grit to coarse sand, but every grain of it is like one of those rocky boulders in miniature, hard, rough, resistant to every attempt to transform it and make it smooth. A few rare tufts of thorny bushes of a faded green colour, without blossom or fruit, as if despising the changes of the seasons, are scattered sparsely among the masses of sharp stone. No other

signs of transient human activity can be found save those which men have created for all time, or which have already overcome all that is fleeting—the figures of gods, sepulchral niches, hermits' caves—those are the sole exceptions—and they are carved out of the Anatolian rock which nothing can alter and nothing affect.

The forests—they occupy a large belt of land lying along three sides of the quadrilateral formation which is Anatolia, and are overflowing and teeming with incessantly renewed life and growth. There is the profound, constant tranquillity of the lofty fir and pine with their ever upward-striving summits; the rustling exuberance of broad plane-trees, of oaks and elms and beeches spreading wide the dense growth of their broad summits; there are the heavy, smooth trunks of the timber wood, and the shady growth of bracken, the delicate outlines of clumps of alders and birch, and flower-studded clearings and mountain meadows. There are the olive groves of silvery grey, their old, knotted trunks looking as if they had never known the gushing sap of youth; whole woods of fig-trees, their maze of branches twisting in and out of the broad-leaved foliage like smooth grey snakes; groups of palms, pines and cypresses are scattered about everywhere. There is thorny, scrubby macchie, spicy-scented bushes



Ruins at Sardes



Ala-ed-Din's Citadel at Konia

of laurel and myrtle, and an impenetrable tangle of ivy, creepers and bindweed. And with it all the restless bubble and bustle of wild brooks, and the plunging roar of mountain torrents, and broad, steady-flowing streams which for thousands of years, tireless and taking little count of time, have turned the thousands of mill and water-wheels. Such is the never-flagging, endlessly enduring life of the forests of Anatolia.

Then comes the sea, with its restless movement and the relentless beat of the waves, eternal and immutable. The waters of four seas wash the shores of Anatolia—the Black Sea in the north, the Mediterranean in the south and the Ægean in the west, and in addition the Sea of Marmora—although this is practically an inland sea of Turkey—which divides Anatolia from Thrace. The sea, battering the firm, rocky shore of Anatolia into scraggy reefs and cliffs, carving out deep indented bays and inlets, and modelling into sharply jutting capes and promontories its vertical, steep stone walls. With carefree impetuosity it carves out vast, open gulfs, and then carefully and slowly forms the narrow tortuous straits. It grinds to a powder the compact, firm masses of earth and piles it up into formless dunes stretching for miles and miles, then splits them up with lagoons and finally disappears in boggy, bottomless swamps. On three sides the coast-

line of Anatolia is formed, displaced and modified by the active impulse of these seas, which nothing can conquer, nothing can still.

Anatolia is impregnated by this impalpable impulse, so limitless in its action and so indestructible, and therefore the arrival of masses of Turkish peoples in this land has a much greater significance than the beginning of a new era or of the forging of a new link in the age-old chain. Each one of these Oghuz horsemen, each hoof-beat of their Turcoman horses, each thrust of a Turkish spade, bore a share of that all-embracing force of the Turkish race to that particular bit of the ever-generous soil of Anatolia, and awakened it to eternal and overflowing productivity. It was the fusion of elements into a whole, the discovery that this race and this land were affinities. Seljuk, Toghrul, Alp Arslan and the other Seljuk princes who succeeded them in Anatolia sought, without knowing it, the proper goal for their people, the one nature had ordained—the alliance of the race and the soil, the linking together of all ranks, unity. The Ottoman rulers, who at a later date drove the Anatolian people across the battlefields of half Europe, knew they were doing it only to satisfy a mad dream, and in so doing they split up the homogeneity of the nation and destroyed its unity. That is the second great historic error the Ottoman sultans made in their handling of the Turkish people.

SHEPHERDS, PEASANTS AND TOWNSFOLK

ANATOLIA has become Turkish by a logical series of historically and organically related facts. The result of the Turkish victories over the armies of Byzantium was the recognition in due form of Turkish sovereignty by that empire. The leaders and chiefs of the Oghuz tribes and clans became feudatories and vassals of the Seljuk sultan, and in the course of time independent begs and emirs, keeping increasingly sumptuous courts at Erzerum, Erzinjan and Sivas, at Amasia, Niksar, Ankara, Kutahia and Kastamonu. The old provinces of Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Ionia, Phrygia, Pisidia and Paphlagonia were divided up into a dozen

small principalities. Cæsarea, which since the time of Tiberius had been the family estate of the Roman rulers, became Kaiseria and the place of residence of one of the ruling Seljuk families, and it was here that the daughter of the Basileus of Byzantium married Alp Arslan's son. Later the seat of the sultanate was removed farther westwards to the town known as Iconium in the old Persian legend, and which had become a flourishing Roman city under Trajan and Hadrian and called Konia by the Seljuks. At the beginning of the twelfth century the whole of Anatolia was in the hands of the Turks. From the mainland by way of Smyrna (Izmir) they occupied the neighbouring islands of Chios, Samos and Mytilene; thence their vessels went to all ports of the Peloponnese, and from Anatolia into the eastern Mediterranean, whilst ships from Sinope voyaged as far as the Dobruja.

The various phases of the final struggle with Byzantium, when province after province was lost to the empire, are only episodes. Mere episodes, too, are those romantic, fantastic invasions, the Crusades, with all their pointless bloodshed and meaningless devastation. Episodes, too, the numerous wars and campaigns between individual Turkish princes about their own territories or districts. Anatolia had become Turkish, not through the battles and victories of emirs and dynasties, but by the continual influx of masses of Turkish people, who for two centuries had settled there with their flocks of sheep and herds of goats, with their camels and horses, their wagons and tents, and had occupied tract after tract of its land. Foremost came the Oghuz tribes, but with them came others, their kinsmen from Asia. Others, of the northern Turkish groups, came from Russia in Europe and Byzantium, while still more were already living in the country from the time of the Arab invasions. This slow, steady, irresistible flow made Anatolia Turkish; military victories were only the historically logical consequences.

The majority of these tribesmen soon settled down. Some took their herds into the vast plains of the high tablelands, cultivated the earth, limiting their boundaries only by the extent of the soil's fertility, and in summer drove their cattle to feed in the mountain meadows. Others sought out the narrow, fertile strips of land cut out by the rivers and the larger streams as they

wound their way through the steppes and rocks, and there on small lots they cultivated corn, vegetables and fruit, let their easily satisfied sheep and goats feed on the meagre shrubs of the steppes and the scanty mountain grass. They built small square houses with flat roofs, some of roughly hewn rock, others of sun-dried clay—such small, low houses, as though they feared to build lofty dwellings because these might loosen the tie which bound them to the soil which they had made their own. To their new villages, mountains and rivers they gave the names of their ancient families and tribes. Others, however, who wished to keep their land without division and boundaries, wandered through the Anatolian steppes for a long time with their herds, wagons and tents, in their ancient tribal formations, just as they had done in Asia, and many of them, such as the Yuruks, have not yet adopted a settled mode of life.

The chiefs with their retinues took possession of the towns and established courts and administrative centres. Craftsmanship and trade followed them there and developed, and with the resulting prosperity came a higher standard of intellectual life. They became the meeting-places for the still compact groups of the closely intermingled Byzantine population of the Greek and Armenian provinces. The townsfolk under the new Turkish rule, being easily adaptable, willingly followed the new Turkish ways. They found in them relief from the oppressive taxation of the complicated military and governmental régime of Byzantium, freedom from the intolerance of the Byzantine Orthodox Patriarch, and peace and security after the long, corrupt rule of Byzantine bureaucracy. The law and customs of merchants and trade had fallen into decay with the disintegration of the empire; the new Turkish rulers regulated the law and order of their markets, their buying and selling, trade rivalry and financial settlements. As a matter of course they gradually and voluntarily adopted the Turkish language, Turkish art and ideas; their own speech and ideas became absorbed in them and finally disappeared without leaving a single trace. And in this way the Byzantine towns on certain stretches of the coast of Anatolia became Turkish.

Commercial relations were soon established between the Greek exporters on the Ægean coast, and through them with Venice,

Seljuk Relief: Genie
(From the Museum at Konia)



Genoa and Ragusa and the Black Sea ports. Considerable quantities of Anatolian produce began to find its way west along the most direct route, and Anatolian caravans started to transport along Anatolian roads the dense traffic between the trade centres of the West and the markets of the East. Thus Anatolia became closely woven into the network of intercontinental commerce, and enjoyed once more a period of prosperity such as it had not known for centuries, so that by

A.D. 1230 "Turkey" was rightly considered one of the richest and happiest of lands. But although the cities stand out resplendent with the lustre of Anatolia's wealth, and demonstrate her art and learned literature, her artistic craftsmanship and luxury, the real unique essence of Turkey did not develop and perfect itself in towns or in the courts of princes, but among the peasants working laboriously on the mountainside and in the valleys and among the shepherds on the steppes.

The peasants and shepherds, bound to their chiefs, the "pashas", by ancient ties of a quasi-military, quasi-pagan religious nature, were the real defenders of the sultans, begs and emirs. Their hands wielded the sword of Turkey. The same deeply national bond united them in spite of tribal and religious differences—for many Christian Turks had come from the territories of the Byzantine Empire—in spite of unequal conditions of life and the limitations of feudal jurisdiction which kept them firmly bound to one another and to the soil. Throughout Anatolia their bards travelled, singing the same ancient epics of the steppes to the same melodies and in the same rhythmic forms, interweaving the new exploits with the old themes, their adventures in Anatolia with battles their forbears had fought against the armies of Byzantium and the Crusaders over the same territory. From

the nomad shepherd's tent, from the mountain villages, from huts of sun-dried brick on the river-banks echoed the same ancient martial ballads, the same age-old duets between youths and maidens, the same old poetic dialogue of courtship and love's sacrifice.

The same characteristic world-conception bound them all together, framed externally, it is true, by the laws of the Koran, but its colour, its light and shade, came from its own singular mysticism, as though on some hidden invisible palette were mixed together primeval paganism and Islamism, the cosmic and the strongly nationalistic concept. It seemed as if this mysticism wove a series of secret threads between the steppes of Central Asia and Anatolia and through the very souls of the people. It had its prophets and fraternities, its poets and an intellectual following. The ancient Oghuz "Baksi", the spiritual leaders of the tribes and clans in pre-Islamic pagan times, continued for a long while to wear legendary halos in spite of the mohammedan priests. Wandering dervishes, friars, interweaving the pantheism of the old pagan mysteries into the dogmas of Islam, travelled throughout the interior of Asia as far as Anatolia, wherever the Oghuz people dwelt, and kept alive memories of the ancient times. Religious orders were founded, monastic centres implanted this mysticism deep in the heart of the country, engrafted it on rules of life and education, binding the people to their land. Poets penetrated this circle, raised up its inspiration, sublimated it and formed schools for their followers. They consistently followed the lines of popular thought and comprehension, borrowing from it form and metaphor, versification and style. Their verses and their poems, the whole structure of their poetry, was based on popular ideas and written in the vernacular, but spiritualized and ennobled. From out the people and the soil was created the literary patrimony of Anatolia's Turkish nation.

BEGS AND SULTANS

BUT another essentially Turkish influence was at work, of less directly popular inspiration, it is true, but nevertheless it resulted eventually in a more perfect consummation of the national spirit.

It began in the towns among the leading classes, and among the notables at the courts—in that exclusive circle where Turks had first come into contact with the achievements of foreign culture. Foreign policy, relationship and matrimonial alliances kept the Seljuks in the closest touch with the culture of Baghdad and the refinements of the Persian court. Two distinct and colourful tendencies were its result.

The first tendency, coming from Baghdad, showed a sharply defined religious orthodoxy in contrast with the popular trend of pagan mysticism, and exercised its influence on the higher ecclesiastics at court, on religious schools and academies, on the “medresses”, and on the rulers themselves, and by these means gave a theological conception to all higher education, learning and literature, and at the same time a strong Arab stamp. The other, the Persian tendency, also found a basis on which to establish refinement and luxury amid the wealthy ones of the land, but it was difficult for the freer, anacreontic way of life that inspired Persia at that time, to be reconciled with the ascetic,

didactic mysticism which was anchored so deep down in the soul of the Turkish masses. Persian was soon the mode and speech of society; their favourite authors wrote in Persian, and the Persian conception of poetry was easily recognizable in the finished technique, artistry of style and refined elegance of their verses. Both influences, the Persian towards the exotic, *bel-esprit*, and the Arab towards scholarship, helped higher cultural development, but



*Seljuk Carving
(From the Ankara Museum)*

they occasioned a breach between the people and the ruling classes, between the city and the countryside.

However, a balance was provided by the smaller provincial courts of the begs and emirs, by those tribal chiefs who had risen to be barons and princes with territorial jurisdiction. Equally distant from Baghdad and Persia, simple in their outlook and conservative in their simplicity of life, they stressed the difference in their ideology from that of the Seljuk court and its Arabo-Persian tendencies, and upheld consciously and thoroughly the Turkish element. The language of their local chancelleries and administration was Turkish, Turkish also the customs of the court households; they governed the provincial towns according to Turkish forms and standards, and from there administered the law and custom of the countryside. Either at their command or through the zeal of someone at their courts, Arabic and Persian literary works were translated into Turkish, and translations in Turkish were made of treatises on theology, mysticism, medicine, the chase, of chronicles and legends in prose and verse. Soon original works began to be written in Turkish, making use of native form and material, and for the most part completely different from the Persian mode; a genuine Turkish literary art was developing. This literature drew a great deal on popular sagas and myths, and shaped from them epic poems full of fantasy about magicians, genii and mystical miracle-workers. Many of these creations were full of the deepest poetic impulse, of real, pure lyricism and free, unfettered passion. All of it was entirely Turkish and found its echo in the nature and tendencies of the Turkish people throughout Anatolia; it conquered Persian and Arabic tendencies in literature and laid the foundation of the Turkish classic mode, which soon was to guide the genius of Anatolia's creative force.

THE SELJUK ERA

THE whole purport of those early Anatolian years was to help the Turkish spirit take a progressively definite form, and it was the very essence of the people's existence to fight with all the means at their disposal for this achievement. These struggles and quests filled their life; they are reflected in their poetry and

stand out in their art. Perhaps the clearest mirror of these times is to be found in their art: the heavy, massive walls of piled-up, huge, unwieldy blocks of stone reflect the solid might of the Anatolian mountains, and their large, uninterrupted surface the vast, endless Anatolian steppes. The ogival buttressed gateways piercing these masses, with their curves and niches, seem to hide some deep mystery in the maze of their intersecting and interlocking prisms. The scroll-work lines, ribbons and tendrils carved in the white marble, and woven in a network of superb decorative ornament of unendingly different design which frame each gateway, door and window, seem like close links uniting substance and force with the spiritual and the ideal. The shimmer of tiles pervades the majestic, lofty halls, in colours shading from a rich dark blue to the palest turquoise, like a last reflection of the old myths and legends and of woods and mountains vanished beyond the blue of the horizon.

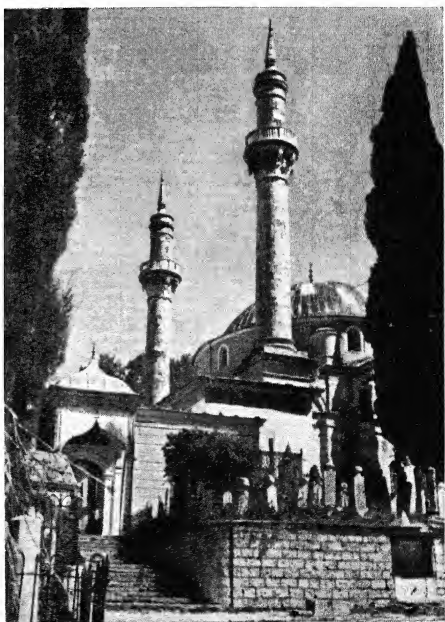
No doubt the first Seljuk princes owe the construction and decoration of their palaces, baths, mosques and schools to some extent to the skill of foreign architects and to the copying of foreign ornamental design; foreign ideas and taste may possibly have found its way into their courts. But in Anatolia these ideas and tastes underwent a transformation and became Turkish. All the castles and fortresses, the caravanserais, tombs and fountains built by Turkish architects from Anatolia to Erzerum, from Amasia to Sivas, in Kaiseria and Konia, all the carved gateways, pulpits and screens, the brocades, silks and carpets, the illuminated manuscripts with their tooled leather covers—they all display an harmoniously developed uniformity of style, form, feeling and technique. Much of the Seljuk period in art betrays the extravagant exuberance of youth and lacks the classic clarity of the full inspiration of later Turkish art, but nevertheless it is genuinely Turkish.

Thus the people tilled the soil which yielded them their bread; they led their flocks to graze, and from their wool wove their stuffs. They built and traded, they wrote and composed and sang; year by year and inch by inch their work and labour, their poetry and art bound them closer to the soil of Anatolia. They saw the Crusaders penetrate their land as far as the Taurus and reach Eskishehir and Konia, and their country ruled by the vice-

roys of the Mongolian Hulagu Khan, without knowing why this was. They continued to till the earth and labour, to construct and create, as before, for one thing they were sure of, just one, their work and toil was for their country. Without hesitation or question they fought their princes' battles until the Frankish crusaders and the Mongolian viceroys disappeared the way they had come. Slowly something else developed from this struggle—something novel that had never been present before—the consciousness of this unity and the distinct, undivided will to maintain, promote and strengthen it to serve a common progressive aim.

THE FIRST OTTOMAN RULERS

THE first signs of national consciousness appeared in Bithynia on the north-west border of Anatolia and farthest away from the cosmopolitan centres where Persian and Islamic influences held sway. About A.D. 1300 a family of begs, the Osman, created a feudal domain in these regions just as other families had done before. Later on, when their principality had become the great Ottoman Empire, legend began to idealize the family origin and the exploits of its ancestor Togrul; but in fact the beginning of this Ottoman ruling house was little different from that of other border emirates. But it expanded, chiefly by acquiring Byzantine territory, and soon ruled the regions of Isnik, Nicca



Scene in Bursa

and Ismid, the ancient Nicomedæa; its capital city was Bursa.

Like other provincial courts, Bursa had opposed orthodoxy and laid stress on a Turkish trend, and as in other similar emirates, it worked in close contact with the popular tendency. For the first time in Anatolia Bursa consistently and consciously struck a Turkish note in politics, and Anatolia re-echoed it. By treaty, purchase or as dowry, the whole of Anatolia became annexed to Bursa, and if now and again it was necessary to resort to force to check some refractory prince, the attack was never directed against the masses of the people. And when for a while this desire for national unity had to yield to a stronger force, the hurricane of Tamerlane's invasion, it needed only a few years after his death for the close political bond that united Anatolia to be re-established. From thence forward Turkish Anatolia was a complete entity.

THE TURKISH SPIRIT AND ANATOLIA

ALREADY under the first Ottoman rulers Anatolian Turkey possessed a strong state structure, like the driving force of the race and the productive vigour of the soil which had given it life. There was a solidly organized administration and a reliable fiscal system, a regular army with well-organized regiments of foot and horse under firm discipline, flexible to command and with regimental staffs attached to Anatolia, and this at a time when the armed forces of the European states consisted of levies recruited at random. A hundred years were to elapse before Charles VII of France instituted the first standing army in Europe. It possessed a definite state policy and steadily carried it through at a period when neither Asia nor Europe showed even a vestige of plan or aim. It was a policy that united all the many scattered fragments of the Turkish race settled at various times in Thrace, in the Balkans, and Macedonia, and wherever formerly Byzantium had ruled and where now reigned ruin and confusion, and formed them into bridges, as it were, over which should pass the lines of cultural communication between East and West—a policy that was the logical development of the original purport of Turkish energy, the concept of unity and harmony, and which was now opening up a new way through Anatolia.

The Turkish armies from Anatolia penetrated into Europe not as a romantic adventure, driven by lust of conquest and booty, but as the result of an instinctive idea, politically logical and of deep historical inspiration, which they carried through with the most suitable means at their disposal and at the proper historical moment. The success that was bound to follow their campaign left Europe dumbfounded—for she had totally failed to comprehend the importance of its underlying meaning. With such an inspiration the Turkish armies within a few years had occupied Edirne (Adrianople), Philippopolis, Sofia, and besieged Belgrade. The resistance of the Tsars of Serbia and Bulgaria, of the Hungarian Hunyadi, of the Wallachian Wlad Dracul and the Albanian mountain prince Skender Beg was fruitless and in vain. Where the Turks went, that ideal made them seize on the land and in this way transform the states they annexed into spheres of Turkish Anatolian culture.

The source of this national force was Anatolia. Anatolia, and Anatolia alone was the mother-country of the nation. She had given it birth, she had nourished it and brought it to maturity. Whatever countries in Europe, Asia or Africa she might yet acquire, be they large or small, rich or poor, they could only be regarded henceforward as colonies. To remain strong, happy and steadfast the nation must seek its support, its durability and its happiness in Anatolia and in her alone. There must be one patriotic appeal—Anatolia. After four centuries of oblivion one man has recalled that to mind.

CHAPTER IV

OTTOMAN SULTANS

THE LETTERS OF OGIER GHISLAIN DE BUSBECQ—ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL UNION—SULEIMAN KANUNI—DECADENCE—FOREIGNERS VERSUS TURKS—CÆSARO-PAPISM AND CALIPHAN DOGMATISM—THE PERIOD OF THE TANZIMAT—THE CAPITULATIONS—YOUNG TURKS—PAN-TURANISM—PAN-ISLAMISM—OTTOMANISM—ISTANBUL

SCARCELY a century had passed since the morning of May 30th, A.D. 1453, when the hundred and sixty thousand Turks of Mehmed II had occupied the town of Constantine—Constantinople—Istanbul—"The Town"—as it is now called—and made it Anatolia's for ever. By that feat the might of Anatolia had made the Turkish Empire the most powerful of its time. Suleiman, entitled "the Magnificent" by European historians, but whom Turkey more modestly acclaims as "Kanuni" or "Law-giver", reigned from Egypt to the Caucasus, from India to the Crimea, and across the Balkans as far as the shores of the Adriatic Sea. His fleet dominated the Mediterranean, his pasha governed Budapest, and his army stood at the gates of Vienna. Francis I, "His Most Christian Majesty" of France, and Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, solicited peace and offered him friendship and alliance. Every European court from Poland to Venice sent him royal gifts.

But what did Europe know of this Turkish Empire? Europe that but a few years previously had burnt at the stake Savonarola and Huss, Europe of the Inquisition, of the bloody peasant revolts, of the religious wars between emperor and princes, between princes and townsfolk. Europe also of the humanistic ideals, of Petrarch, Leonardo da Vinci, of Holbein and Dürer, of Vasco

da Gama, of Pizarro and Cortez and the Conquistadores, Europe still lying under the spell of the psychosis of the Crusades. What did this Europe know of the Turkish Empire? Senseless fear and gruesome tales of horror had coined the epithet "Turkish Peril", or meaningless scorn and contempt made Europeans call the Turks "the arch-enemy of Christ", "Scythians", "Barbarians", "Red Jews". What did this Europe know of the art and learning of the Turks and of their empire? Who had ever voyaged to Turkey in those days, or if he had, who believed his experiences when he related them on his return?

However, we do possess the diary and correspondence of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, a Flemish nobleman at the court of Ferdinand, Holy Roman King of Hungary and brother of the Emperor Charles V. He was very well informed and had travelled extensively and was esteemed as a diplomat and a humanist. For a great many years he had been on a special mission to the court of Suleiman the Magnificent and had travelled widely throughout the Turkish Empire. He stayed at Isnik, at Amasia and at Ankara, and was the first European to make a copy of the "Queen of all inscriptions"—the *Res gestae divi Augusti* engraved on the marble walls of the Augusteum in that city. He collected old coins and manuscripts and sent the Emperor at Vienna more than two hundred old texts, including the "Codex of Dioscorides". He was the first to introduce into Europe from Turkey tulips, hyacinths and lilac, and the first to publish in Europe a reliable description of Turkey, couching his narrative in the most elegant Latin phrases. In this work he tells us of the Turkish sense of hospitality among high and low, of kitchens for the poor, of the large number of schools, public fountains and baths, of orderly thoroughfares and hostelries where the doors were closed to none, be he Moslem, Christian or Jew, rich or poor, pasha or the man in the street. He speaks of the love of the Turks for gardens and flowers, of tranquillity and security in the country as well as in the towns, of military order and discipline, of the splendour and luxury of the court and of the economy and regulation of the State treasury. Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq describes life in the country generally, in government circles and in the sultan's entourage, and this is what he reports:

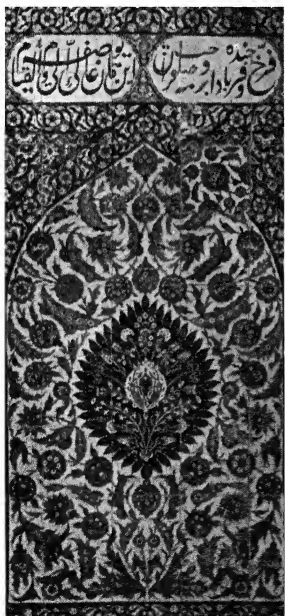
"Among all these high officials there is not one who has

attained his position other than by his own merits or courage. The advantages of birth or family do not count; everyone receives the honour due to the office he fills; there is no rivalry for precedence, as rank depends on office. The sultan personally distributes office without considering either wealth or nobility, or the favour and opinion of the people, but judges each one according to his merits, character, manner of thought and talents, and each official is deservedly distinguished.

“ Thus only capable men are promoted to official positions, and each holds his fate in his own hands. Among those immediately surrounding the sultan are the sons of shepherds and neatherds; they are not ashamed of their origin; on the contrary they glory in it and esteem themselves the more for owing nothing to their ancestry or the accident of birth. Ability, according to their belief, is neither innate nor hereditary, but is partly a divine gift, partly due to strict discipline, hard work and great exertion, and just like art and learning, it does not pass from father to son. The soul does not take birth from the paternal seed, but flows, as it were, from Heaven.

“ Hence among these people honours, dignity and high office are the rewards of ability, and dishonesty, indolence and incapacity are not esteemed, but despised. This has caused the Turks to dominate and flourish; they are the masters and every day their empire increases in extent. We live after another fashion, with us there is no room for merit, everything depends on birth; the higher born the greater honour.”

And Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq continues: “ The burden of Turkish domination over Christians is not heavier than our own load of vice, debauchery, drunkenness, sensuality, arrogance, envy, hate, greed and



Turkish Faience (Tiles)

jealousy, which bears us down so that we have neither thought for Heaven nor capacity for great deeds. We only exert our every effort to cross the limitless seas to India and the Antipodes to plunder the simple-minded people there, using as our pretext religion and the diffusion of our Christian faith while we plot to get their gold."

Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq had many experiences in Turkey, observed a great many things and reported them to his own countrymen. Much of what he sets down is accurate, but a good deal is deformed or rendered obscure because he viewed these things through the spectacles of the European world of his time.

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL UNION

THE Turkish Empire of that epoch was vast and powerful, but it was more than that, it was an harmonious intellectual and spiritual entity. The same unifying spirit, the same coalescing force permeated it from the Yemen to Uskub, overcoming differences of race and nationality. Greeks, Bulgars, Serbs, Croats, Hungarians, Armenians and Kurds, Berbers, Arabs, Copts, peoples who from time immemorial had hated and fought each other, lived within the borders of that empire at peace with one another and unmolested. Religious and dogmatic differences and their resultant conflicts were composed, Catholics, Protestants, members of the Orthodox faith, each had its places of worship, its priests and communities, its property, houses and work, and enjoyed its particular usages and customs in tranquillity and serenity, as did the sects, religious orders and fraternities of Islam with their tekkes and dervisheries, with their saints, their wise men and their teachers.

The empire, then, was an economic unit bound by that organic tie which is formed when men cultivate their own land and there is reciprocity of exchange for its many products. The same coalescing force bound together the workers from the shores of the Caspian Sea to the Atlas Mountains, whether they toiled in the mountains or on the sea, in the steppes or on the rivers. The Bedouins of the Nejd, the shepherds of the Balkan lands, the peasants of the Nile and the Danube, the fishermen of the Pontus and the Tisza, the guilds of the Bulgarian tailors and the

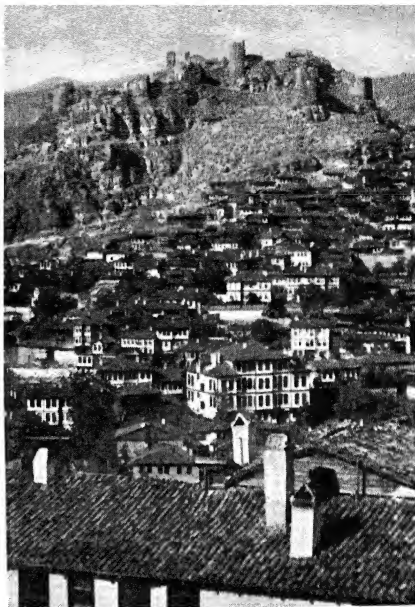
Syrian blacksmiths, Armenian merchants and Greek sailors, they all formed one united whole which sufficed abundantly to protect and secure for each his own individual property.

Rice from the banks of the Maritza was exchanged for coffee from Arabia, silk from Bursa with textiles from Mosul, steel from Damascus and faïence from Isnik. The ports, fairs and markets from Eski Djoumaya to Baghdad, from Trabzon to Salonika, the caravans of camels, the mule trains, the heavy carts with their teams of oxen, the barges, ships and coastal craft, all were parts of this great economic whole. Parts also were the villages and hamlets of the peasants, the tents of the nomad shepherds, and the bazaars of the towns with their solid vaulted arches. It included the landed proprietor and the tenant farmer, the professions as well as the guilds and corporations, from Belgrade to Mecca, from Edirne to Tunis. Each supported the other and the same common dynamic impulse inspired them all.

It was a vast empire of varying aspects which included the countries and peoples of three continents, and to each of them it offered peace and plenty. From border to border, from coast to coast, ruled one law of right and wrong, of custom and abuse; uniformity of regulation obtained in taxation and employment, in trade and commerce, in daily life as a whole. Officials and judges followed a uniform rule for purchase and sale in the markets, for the regulation of the price of meat, bread, fruit, clothing, shoes and for wages. They superintended in a uniform fashion the labour of cooks and bakers, their measures for fat and flour; they saw that their utensils were clean and their copper pans properly tin-lined. They inspected baths and inns, and invoked the law against prostitutes, mendicants and vagrants. This common bond and sense of protection created by the uniformity throughout the empire of laws, rights and duties found its source and strength in that all-pervading, unifying force which characterizes the Turkish race.

This spirit behind this world-embracing, united empire created out of a multiplicity of peoples and countries was that of Turkish Anatolia. Religious quarrels, the rivalry of princes, the troubles of the times had divided the people and poisoned their minds. Peasants had destroyed the towns and the townsfolk had devastated the countryside. Libraries were burnt, works

of art ruined, misery, madness and degeneracy were widespread. The only force capable of overcoming the confusion of races and tongues, the rivalries of princes, the conflicts between the churches and dogma, was the Turkish spirit. That age-old force alone could bind, unite and reconcile them, could surmount enmity and hate, could unite society and state economy in the ideal of a common political destiny, could set a common goal for all and



pursue it along the same path, yet preserve to each the free development of his particular characteristics and methods.

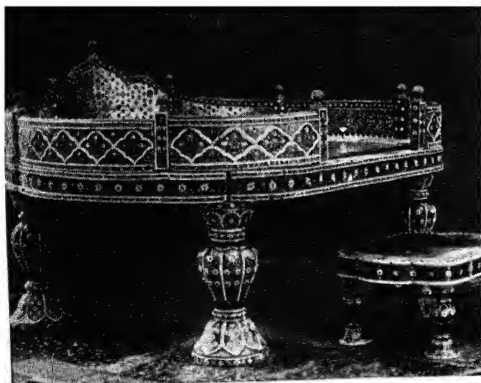
Notwithstanding its motley appearance, the empire was in essence intellectually and culturally Turkish; it expressed the spirit of Anatolia. The State was an example of Turkish ascendancy; its army and government were Turkish, as were the administration of justice and finance, the spirit of the law, the language of state officials, of culture and of the governing classes. All who considered themselves intellectual or followed the dictates of fashion, be they masters of the Academy of Baghdad or courtiers of the Khan of the Crimea, taught and spoke Turkish, wrote and composed their verses in it.

Lyric poets and chroniclers, grammarians and encyclopædists had raised the vernacular of Anatolia to the language of culture and learning. Fuzuli and Baki wrote in Turkish; it was the language used by all those poets who crowded the courts of Istanbul and the pashas of Diarbekir, Konia, Kastamonu, Bursa and Edirne to portray the wit and scholarship of their time, and

it was the written language of Selim the First and Suleiman the Magnificent. Gathering its phrases, idioms, expressions and similes from the dialect of Anatolia, a Turkish classic language soon developed; the court poets used it in composing their *Turkis*, popular ballads sung by soldiers and wandering minstrels, together with the old love songs and ancient epics.

Turkish Anatolia influenced the sentiment and emotion, the thought and action of the whole Empire. It gave it a close unity, it gave it greatness and might. The spirit of Anatolia led the Empire in battle and directed the state and justice; it inspired research and learning, created and lived in literature and poetry, pervaded and prompted all artistic creation. This spirit found its expression in the massive walls of fortresses and fortified cities, in Mecca and in Ofen, in Belgrade and in Jerusalem; in the shimmering colours of silks, carpets and faïence; in the clear-cut, restful lines of the mosques, medresses and decorative fountains; in the playful fancy of arabesques and interlacing prisms. Its indestructible strength is to be seen in the triple arches of their mosques and palaces, arches soaring ever higher, so that the cupolas they support seem to float in space, and in their domes is preserved the eternal welling life of steppe and sea, of mountain and forest. And always the same mystic circle of this force held men in thrall, and bound them fast to the soil with those unbreakable links which the ancient spirit of the Turcoman steppes had forged in Anatolia. As in the past, religion and ecclesiastical ordinances were little more than an outer cloak for the

ancient Turkish tribal cults, for immemorial pagan rites which linked in a profoundly mysterious fashion man with the soil, with nature and the universe. Whatever might



*The Sultan's Throne.
16th Century (Istanbul
Museum)*

be the name of the fraternities, religious orders and sects, whether they called themselves Kisilbashi, Bektashi, Mevlevi, Nakshbandi or Hurufi, their rites and teaching intermingled Christian, Gnostic, Islamic and pagan conceptions. The veneration for the Virgin Mary and the Holy Trinity with the cult of the moon, the sun and fountains of running water; the Last Supper and the transmigration of souls with the mysticism of numbers—all bore witness of that unfathomable force of the Turkish people which held mankind bound for ever to the soil. A whole world separated them from the orthodoxy and intolerance, from the obscurantist reaction of a future period when the weakness of their sultans helped paralyse and stultify the life-forces of the people.



DECADENCE

THE oriental mystic cult of numbers recognizes the number *ten*—the last in the series of independent digits—as having special significance. The ten fingers, ten commandments, ten disciples of the last of the prophets, ten parts of the Koran, ten ways of reading it, ten astronomic heavens. Ten is the most perfect of numbers, and the last. After it came nothing which is perfect in itself. . . .

Ten great chiefs of the house of Osman, from father to son, had known how to direct the dynamic force of the Turkish people in vigorous fashion. Suleiman the Magnificent was the tenth of this lineage. He reigned in the year 1000 (ten times ten decades) of the Hegira. Ten grand viziers had served under him. Suleiman the Lawgiver was the last of the great princes that the

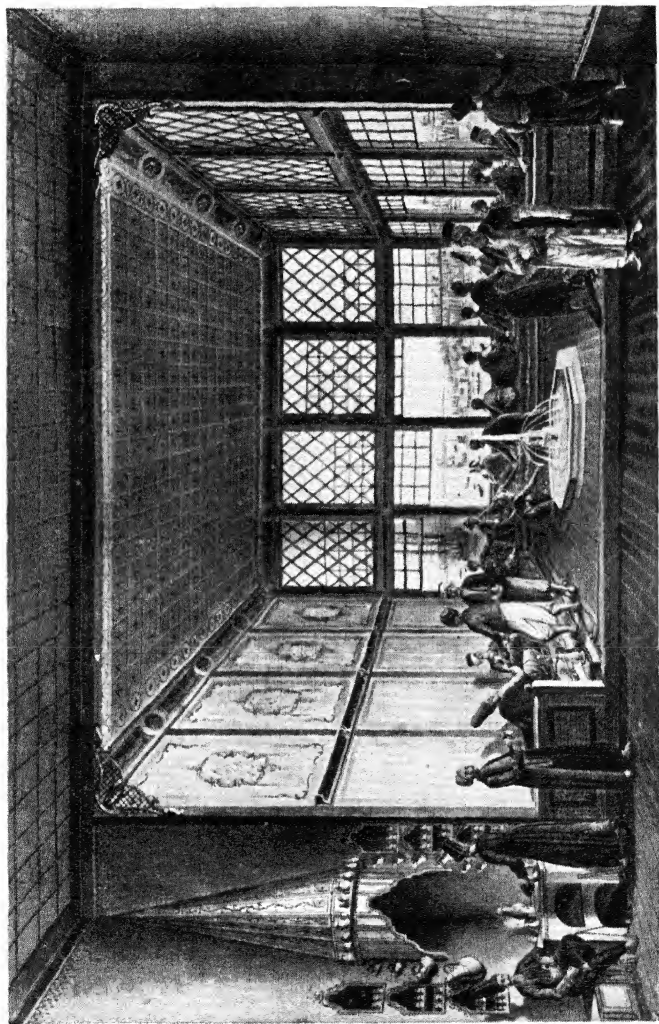
house of Osman gave to the nation, and with his death began the decadence of the dynasty and the Ottoman Empire.

Two or three centuries passed by, a considerable lapse of time for the magnifying glass of chroniclers to play upon, reckoning history as they do by battles, treaties, reigns and dynasties. Viewed from without, the Ottoman Empire, in spite of unsuccessful wars and territorial losses, continued to exercise considerable influence and still was to be feared as an enemy and sought after as an ally. In appearance its court was more resplendent than ever. The sultans erected more magnificent palaces, medresses and mosques, made Isnik produce more brilliantly glowing faïence than before, more gorgeous carpets came from Isparta, and the manuscripts in the imperial libraries were more richly illuminated.

Istanbul still remained the centre for learned men, artists and poets. Literature and works of art poured out with a more exuberant abundance than ever, but in spite of this apparent splendour it was an epoch of decadence; the insistence on the preservation of the forms of art had caused richness of matter to be replaced by mere rigid formulæ. It was the period of memoir writers, of looking back, of years when the quest was for the echoes of the past instead of the notes of the future. During this time the Ottoman dynasty was losing all vigour. Sultan after sultan watched anxiously and fearfully the pressure of power of the Turkish people, the driving force of Anatolia, and as they severed the bonds uniting the Empire and the nation they paralysed and stultified national energy.

FOREIGNERS VERSUS TURKS

WITH the intuition of the weak, the Ottoman princes recognized the danger which menaced them in everything that was strong, active and in contrast to themselves. Driven by the instinct of self-preservation, they ousted national dynamism, so carefully and imperceptibly that resistance was impossible, and placed in its stead a restrictive, numbing coercion. Lust of power was an hereditary characteristic, but they lacked the gift of leadership, the art of ruling which exacts spontaneous obedience by sheer force of personality. They were conscious of this and they knew,



Turkish Coffee-house

Taken from "Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et du Bosphore". Published by Melling, Paris, 1819

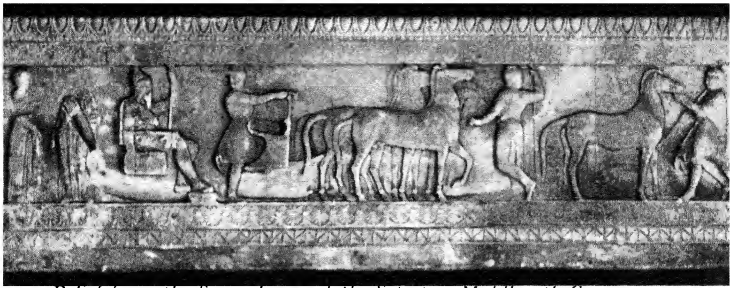
too, that their most dangerous enemies were not from without. The enemy was within; it was the creative abundance and energy of Anatolia, the spirit of the Turkish nation driving it forward to full development and progress, to liberty and action.

That was the danger they had to combat. They had to fight against all growth and movement within the state, against everything which was alive and held promise for the future, against all that was Turkish and Anatolian. No matter how, no matter where, they had to avoid it, restrain it and hinder it at any price. It was their greatest danger, for it threatened their dynasty and their throne.

They prostrated themselves before foreigners, and were fully prepared to make them the most important concessions and reserve for them the most comprehensive privileges. Foreigners were allowed to impair the power of the Empire, to govern it, carry on its trade and administer its finances—but foreigners, of course, could never be a serious menace to the dynasty or destroy its apparent might. The Ottoman sultans felt they need have no fear of foreigners; there was only one menace—the nation, active and alive, and ready to feel, to will and to act.

To combat this danger the foreigner was a welcome tool in their hands, a tool they were seeking, the ally they could summon to their aid. They placed Egyptians, Arabs and Syrians in the most important posts at court and in the army, they conferred the most exalted office, even the vizirate, upon Albanians, Serbs, Bulgars and Croats, the sole condition being that they acknowledged the faith of Islam. Greeks became their most trusted counsellors, provincial governors and rulers of tributary states; immigrant Spanish Jews were appointed to administer their treasury. French, Genoese and Venetian merchants were released from paying customs and taxes and given a favoured position before the law. Whatever was foreign was patronized, preferred, esteemed, for it supported and helped the sultans in their fight with the people.

With this foreign assistance the sultans thought to leash the dynamic force of Anatolia, to fetter the Turkish spirit, and render them docile to the imperial will. The Turk might toil and serve, but he must not think and desire, nor must he act on his own initiative. Anatolia could provide soldiers and taxes, could man



*Relief from the Sarcophagus of the Satraps. Middle 5th Century A.D.
(Istanbul Museum)*

the ships and conduct the caravans; it could give its cattle and corn, its wool and leather; it could bear the Empire, the court and the dynasty on its shoulders, but the feelings and thoughts of the people of Anatolia, their wishes and actions, were of no account.

Anatolia started to struggle against this oppression; it resisted and finally rebelled. Southern Anatolia, the country round Urfa, rose in revolt and threatened the imperial tyranny. Western Anatolia made open rebellion and declared itself independent of the empire and its Ottoman rulers. The begs in their inaccessible mountain valleys had risen in arms, for Anatolia felt itself Turkish, thought on Turkish lines and had no wish to act at the behest of foreigners. It was strong and refused to submit to the feeble hands of the house of Osman. But Egyptian, Syrian and Albanian regiments, troops of Janissaries which included in their ranks Serbs, Bulgars and Greeks, crushed the risings and revolts and once again bound the will of Anatolia in fetters.

The Ottoman rulers thought that despotism could be an effective substitute for the force they lacked, and by means of external pressure and brutal force they believed they would gain a lasting victory over the spirit of the nation. But the Turkish nation turned aside, retreated, withdrew into itself. It devoted itself more than ever to the land, bound itself more closely to its plot of ground, and identified itself more and more with the old customs and ancient cults. The national spirit, which the sultans in their desire for domination and arbitrary power, had sought to subdue with foreign help, found renewed strength in their ancient mysticism, in their yearning for unity and harmony, and

its youthful vigour was restored by the close communion of the people with the earth and the universe.

The real power of Turkey lived on and penetrated deep into the life of the people by means of the semi-national, semi-pagan fraternities, sects and religious orders; its soul thrilled to their rites and mysteries which confounded God and the universal power of the cosmos, revelation and the tradition of old tribal sagas, into one great faith, faith in the nation itself. It borrowed from Islam and the Koran little more than the name, but the mystical fire that glowed within was nourished by all that bound the active, driving spirit of Turkey in a common, imperishable destiny with the firm, fixed, indestructible soil of Anatolia. Whatever dared oppose this common purpose from achieving its object and sought to coerce it encountered a relentless foe.

Foreign help in such circumstances was useless. Albanian regiments and Janissaries, outcast Spanish financiers and Greek counsellors were as powerless as the enfeebled force of the sultans to combat the living spirit of Turkey, animated and invigorated by its native land. But the sultans knew of other aids—they would oppose spirit by spirit. They called to their assistance a spirit that had neither life nor ardour—it was dead, cold, rigid, and was intended to stifle and quench the glowing, invincible, mystic life of Anatolia and the Turkish spirit. The sultans conjured up the spirit of Byzantium from the grave of history.

CÆSARO-PAPISM AND CALIPHAN DOGMATISM

THE spirit was conjured up and brought with it the dull halo of quasi-divinity of the Byzantine emperors, casting a deep shadow over liberty and making the nation a slave to the throne. It brought them the unbending hierarchic rigidity of titles, honours and office which one thing alone could bend or break—money. It introduced stiff ceremonial, entangled all life and initiative in the deadening toils of bureaucracy, and the immutable, irrefutable omnipotence of dogma and orthodoxy robbed the people of freedom of thought and darkened and deluded the vision and quest of truth.

And this phantom from the grave brought with it another wraith as lifeless and unsubstantial as itself, and like it entombed

by history and long since forgotten—the spectre of the caliphate. With it came what God's mercy had spared the Cæsars: submission to the irrevocable decrees of fate and divine wisdom: the omnipotence of theologians who fathom these decrees and comprehend their wisdom and are fully conversant with sacred tradition and divinely appointed custom. It introduced spiritual advisers and ecclesiastical judges, *ulemas* and *muftis*, the Sheria, canonical law, the *hodjas*. Clerics invaded the peasant's cottage, the merchant's shop, the government offices and the law courts. Ecclesiastical rule settled the government of the state and the law, controlled knowledge and art, the family, education and trade, and made the sultans the spiritual protectors of every inhabitant of the Empire, of every true Moslem in the world.



These Byzantine and Arabo-Islamic wraith-like dogmas and doctrines were woven and entangled into an inextricable network. They encircled and enclosed all emotion and thought, all culture and knowledge, all poetry and art. They invaded hut and palace, the army and the treasury, the workshop of the artist and the library of the philosopher, they overshadowed every simple thing in life. They perverted and deformed the ancient mystical pantheism of the Turkish fraternities and orders, their tribal assemblies of wise men and elders, the *babas*, *sheiks* and *chelebis*, and changed it into intolerant zealotry. They shackled and stultified the generous spirit of Turkish Anatolia. The intrigues of the harem, the petty jealousies of the palace and theological wrangles were made the tools and weapons of a decadent dynasty to defend its throne, and from this network of confusion and plotting the policy of the house of Osman was evolved.

During the next two or three centuries the ties that bound the empire to the force of the Turkish race and the Turcoman steppes were severed, and the ways which led to the new ideas that were penetrating Europe were barred. The Ottoman Empire was, as it were, suspended between two worlds and two epochs.



*Entrance to the Ola
Seraglio*

During these centuries the expiring dynasty sacrificed for a chimera the prosperity of the nation, pledging its wealth and the people's toil decade after decade to foreigners and according them

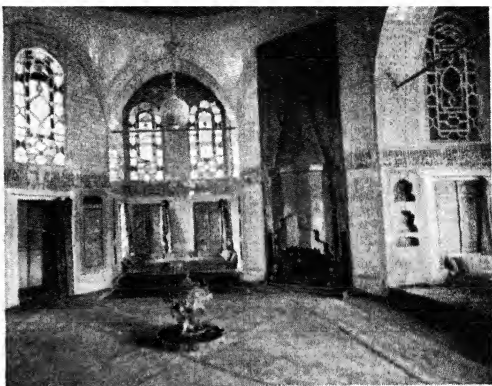
ever greater concessions. The reactionary policy of the rulers in the palace and the dogmatism of the clergy—which was employed to give support to an enfeebled dynastic power—completely barred the Turkish nation from world progress, and shut out all ideas of culture, intelligence and dignity. The universal concept that had been forged by the strength of Turkish dynamism, that had given inspiration, substance and harmony to Turkish ideas, fell to pieces. Sterile years, lost to the Turkish people. Yet what do two or three centuries matter in the life of a nation?

THE PERIOD OF THE TANZIMAT

NEW voices began to be heard in the West—the rights of man and revolution—equality and liberty—constitutional government—fatherland and nation—voices which in Europe were causing crowns to tumble and thrones to totter, which had overturned the very foundations of government and set thoughts, ideas, and the times into a state of confusion and uproar. These voices managed to penetrate even to the Ottoman Empire, but the spiritual walls which the sultan-caliphs had built up stone by stone proved solid. They smothered the echo of these tones from the West, so that they scarcely disturbed the very surface of the atmosphere. The tones were caught in the chancelleries and corridors of the Sheik-ul-Islam, they died away in the halls and backstairs of the Seraglio, and were finally smothered by the loud crackling of parchment on which the imperial edicts were inscribed. Their

last echo died away in some poet's attic room or across the desks of a few intellectuals in Istanbul. But this call never reached Anatolia.

The voices and vibrations of the new age of the West could not be



stilled. Other voices, even more vehement, joined the chorus. They cried out for the enlightenment and education of the masses, for progress, science, technology, mechanization. These were the voices which were awakening in Europe hopes and ambitions hitherto unknown. Their cries echoed across boundaries and through whole countries, outvoiced the clamour of Holy Alliances and treaties between princes, papal encyclicals and the Index, until at last they penetrated into the Ottoman Empire, and pierced the veil of orthodoxy of the Sheria and the omnipotence of the caliphate. But theological cunning and official routine, the finesse of harem intrigue and palace plots, so perfectly combined and interwoven by generations of Ottoman despots, altered, changed and distorted the sense of these cries. What remained after these operations was embodied in a series of edicts enacting so-called reforms—but they were a dead letter.

A few innovations were made, among them the establishment of a small number of new schools and courses of studies, the most of them with foreign teachers and in a foreign language, a few in Turkish for officers, farmers and engineers, and a timid effort was made to found a university. In addition there were a few new books, journals and reviews, a few translations from foreign authors and some hesitant attempts at original work. There remained a vague, wavering groping after western ideas, an intermittent longing to imitate and equal them, but it was always pinned down and overshadowed, hindered and hemmed

in by tradition and clerical reaction, and therefore the movement was limited to the narrow circle of the champions of intellectual progress. The time of the first manifestation of a national awakening—the Tanzimat—was in the 'Sixties, but it was confined to Istanbul and never reached Anatolia. It was a small beginning, but in spite of this limited field and the many errors it made, the vigilance and suspicions of those who supported the link between the church and the dynasty were aroused, and it was recognized as a dangerous breach in their defences. Reforms were suspended, the new schools were closed, the journals prohibited, the movement was condemned and its promulgators banished, imprisoned, proscribed; the police, the censor, the law-courts and the authorities spied upon, suppressed and destroyed every progressive tendency and thought, every word which evoked the idea of liberty, nation or fatherland, everything which was not Islamism and Ottoman. Those were the days of Abdul Hamid II, days of arbitrary despotism and the blackest reaction.

THE CAPITULATIONS

AGAIN the West sent out its challenging call. This time not with the sound of human voices, but in the clang of steel. Ships and railways, cables and telegraphy, steam and electric power and the whole enormous strength of European industrialism and finance, employed in the so-called free play of the forces of economic liberalism, were used to coerce, oppress and take Turkey by storm. Of what avail the crumbling walls and confused network of Byzantine-Islamic orthodoxy, with its Sheik-ul-Islam and sultan-caliphs! But they had other weapons, more supple, more flexible, elastic, yet hard and irresistible—like steel.

Promises and concessions, threats and coercion broke up harem intrigue and laid bare official cunning, or used them for their own purposes. Bribery and corruption altered, changed and transformed bureaucracy and back-stair politics to suit their own plans. By means of loans and credits the uncontrolled cupidity of despotism was aroused to add further privileges to those already in existence and to turn small concessions into larger ones. With the pressure exerted by diplomatic congresses, naval reviews and armed intervention, the old trade privileges and legal



Istanbul

reservations were transformed and forged into the steel chain of Capitulations.

The Great Powers were now able to direct and determine the views and actions of important officials of the State departments and services throughout the whole of the Ottoman Empire; customs, taxes and monopolies were administered, controlled and collected by them. As controllers and inspectors of the Ottoman Debt Administration, they verified and registered as they thought fit income and expenditure. Those were the days when throughout the Ottoman Empire no ship left port, no train began its journey unless some inspector of the Great Powers signed and stamped documents and manifests; newspapers, clubs and associations wrote, spoke and adjusted their politics to the views of the Great Powers; education, consular recognition and postal communications were entirely dependent on the wishes of the statesmen of England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia. The Ottoman Empire had become a mere colony of the European Powers and owed its continued existence to their lack of agreement as to its dismemberment.

However, the sultan-caliph of the house of Osman, and he alone, had found a means of postponing the inevitable, and of maintaining some semblance of life in the slow decay of his country. He manœuvred among foreign quarrels and rivalries, his secret agents and confidential advisers intrigued without the empire, sowed corruption and conflict at home between antagonistic races and creeds. He made promises and retracted them, granted concessions and withdrew them. He paid interest due by creating new credits, and the new debts were cancelled by making new pledges. He piled taxes upon charges, and compulsory duties on agreed services. He caused quarrels and division in every province and district, in every garrison and state department. He mixed and confounded the old with the new, the East and the West, the living future with the decay and ruin of the past. The more men and affairs were left without driving force or aim, the safer he thought his own existence would be in the general confusion.

YOUNG TURKS, PAN-TURANISM, PAN-ISLAMISM, OTTOMANISM

ONCE more new voices and cries were raised, this time not from abroad, not from without, but from within the empire itself and from the most diverse quarters and places. These voices reverberated loudly, but like everything else in the Ottoman Empire, they were confused and indistinct. One contradicted the other, and there was neither direction nor aim. They came from the most diverse circles and classes and in the most varied of modulations and tones, but none came from the profound depths of real Turkey. However loudly they might sound, the true soul of the Turkish people did not thrill to their tones nor were they filled and rounded out by the generous strength of Anatolia.

Some came from the Macedonia mountains, from Salonika, from secret societies, clubs and associations. They proclaimed "Union and Progress", liberalism, constitutional government and freedom. They appealed with increased vigour and force to the officers and the army. They were the voices of the "Young Turk" revolution. They obtained a constitution and a parliament, but at the same time they aroused jealousy, discord and rivalry. They awakened the fanaticism of the masses,

Statue of a Youth.
3rd century (Istanbul Museum)

provoked street fighting and sowed terror. Eventually this great, loud call to freedom died away into complete and oppressive silence, stifled by party dictatorship and despotism, the arbitrary wishes of the few instead of the will of the whole nation, by the blind imitation of Western policy on the part of a small, politics-riddled upper class which by its very circumstances, its social relationships and interests, was intimately bound up with the Ottoman system of privileges and concessions to European high finance and the heavy industries. Its political doctrine was Ottomanism, the Empire of the House of Osman, and the Ottoman sultan-caliph.



Other voices called, enthusiastically and full of inspiration, as if in an ecstasy or dream. They told of the insistent call of the Turanian blood and race, and re-echoed the great days of the Turanian people, the vast, eternal land of all the Turkish peoples, tribes and clans. They sang of Turan, their mystic fatherland. This movement had its poets and philosophers, its groups of enthusiastic young disciples, and its romantic Parnassian circles, but it had also a following among the youth of Turkey and founded the "Türk-Odschagi" or "Turkish Homes"—with popular courses of studies and conferences, feminist groups and associations of boy scouts. Their activities had a serious and ennobling purpose and made a valuable contribution to literature and to the interpretation of the Turkish language. It threw a ray of light on society and culture which had lain for so long enshrouded in the gloom of the Ottoman régime.

But they were mostly visionaries, with a whole world dividing them from reality, and from that Turkish Anatolian mysticism of those early days when a common experience and destiny had

bound the soul of the Turkish people to the soil of Anatolia. This Turanian exaltation, forgetful of history, of culture, of the imperative logic of reality, wished to transform everything, and it created dangerous political illusions. It postulated a "Greater Turkey" and a Pan-Turanian alliance. It sought one universal Turkish Empire in which should be united every Turkish tribe on earth, throughout India and China, under the standard of the House of Osman and the ægis of their ideology.

Yet a third chorus resounded in the air, but, like the last, lost to any sense of appreciation of time and reality; a third disharmony of tones which those who gave them voice imagined that by artificially raising the pitch they could drown the crash of the last props of the empire as they broke. Their theme was the myth of Pan-Islamism. Many among them were enthusiastic and disinterested idealists, who saw embodied in the old religious observance of Islam and its wisdom the great binding power of the oriental world of ideas, in contrast to the rationalism and scepticism of Europe, which was tearing their world to pieces and plunging it into anarchy. They sought the simple, primitive clarity of the early Islamic faith, freed from the obscurantism of canonical and scholastic sophistry; they were in quest of the true Word of the Prophet as salvation from the evil and corruption of the times, the chaos of State and society; they sought the unity of all Moslem peoples in equality and fraternity by the reawakening of a religious principle—by the sacred veneration of the caliph.

That was the spiritual, the ideological part of this movement, but there was the other part of it, the major, preponderant part, a compact group of theologians and *muftis*, *hodjas* and *softas*, *dervishes* and *sheiks*, monasteries and *tekkes*—a crushing mass of callous, cranky, uneducated clerics, an anachronistic, tenacious relic of the dark Middle Ages. The only aims of their existence were to recite the Koran from memory, and make a pilgrimage to Mecca; the true inner meaning of the Islamic world-concept was as strange and incomprehensible to them as was the spirit of modern Europe. Freedom and democracy was to them an abominable apostasy, whether it came from the Christian lands of the west or was born of the Islamic renaissance; knowledge and culture, liberal-mindedness, progress, everything which lay

outside the narrow circle of petrified tradition was their enemy, the enemy of God, of religion, of the Prophet. Their sole support and protection, the centre of their being was the throne of the caliph.

This unreal and soulless confusion of empty calls and voices—Ottomanism, Pan-Turanism, Pan-Islamism—formed the dirge of a dynasty which had lost all touch with its subjects and its country; a dynasty which for nearly three centuries had been too feeble to live in the midst of a strong and vigorous nation, and too cowardly to die honourably amid its fast-decaying splendour; a dynasty which had preferred to sacrifice the rights, the power and wisdom, the honour and the future of the people to foreign demands in order to prolong the splendid outward appearance of its existence. What did the rulers of the House of Osman signify in the destiny of the Turkish people of Anatolia? Two, nearly three, lost centuries. But what do two, or even three centuries count in the intellectual life of a people, in the interplay of dynamic forces. . . .

ISTANBUL

Two or three centuries! Another life was sending its unending force vibrating through human memory and the history of dynasties, a life that would play with altars and crowns, with temples and thrones, and measure the accomplished fact in terms of thousands of years. A life that was to smile at the wisdom of priests and the pride of princes, that would silence the loud wrangling of dogmatic and doctrinal dispute and build up its destiny, stone by stone, through thousands of years — Byzantium —

*In the State Cigarette
Factory at Istanbul*



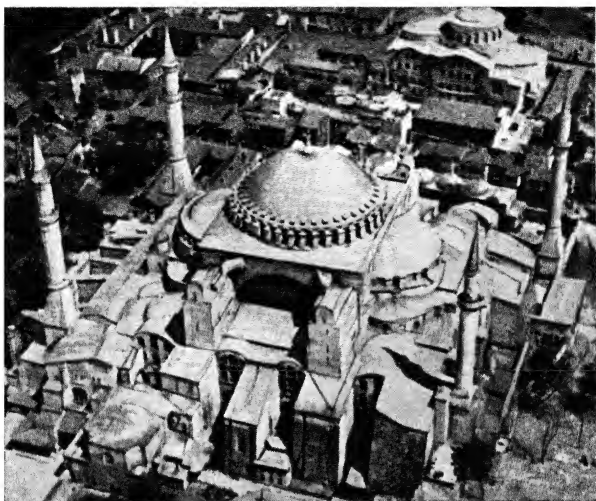
Constantinople—the “Steppes of the Throne”—“Gateway of Bliss”. What were two or three empty centuries of Ottoman decadence to the millenary city?

But—*saxa loquuntur*—the stones of the city speak, and they all speak the same language whether they date from the time of the Hellenic oligarchies or the Roman emperors, from the Basileus of Byzantium or the sultan-caliphs of the House of Osman. They remind us that all political wisdom is madness which does not base its teaching on the meaning and life of the time, and its commerce on the living force of the people, and that neither phantoms nor fantastic ideas, neither the coercion of autocratic despotism nor the cunning of diplomacy, neither financial nor martial might can triumph over the primeval force which unites a people to the soil of their native land.

They tell us how “The Town”, after the empty hollowness of three centuries, was stirred and moved to irresistible new growth when the great cry of Turkey and Anatolia called to the people and their country from out the waves of conflicting voices. What cared they for foreign troops and armoured cruisers, foreign business and banks, politics and parties and sultan-caliph? Those stones bear witness that everybody, rich or poor, whose thought or sentiment was Turkish, be he from the tortuous alleys of the dockside or the bazaar, from state department or school, from the barracks or the villa, all followed the call of Anatolia, despite Ottomanism, Pan-Turanism or Pan-Islamism.

They tell us how the throne, inch by inch, was destroyed and how the new Turkey began to be built stone by stone, systematically and methodically: new modern academies and scientific institutes, new schools, hospitals and welfare centres, modern factories and banks, houses, gardens, bridges and squares, tramways and telephones. The renewed creative energy and productive abundance of Anatolia was working like a yeast in the leaven of “The Town”, forcing the Byzantine-Ottoman phantoms back into their tombs, and restraining and limiting foreign dominance.

And lastly they speak of the Hagia Sofia, the sublime sanctuary of “The Town” which fifteen centuries ago Anatolian master-builders raised up as a symbol of enduring wisdom and art for mankind. A whole world is contained in the majestic curves of



The Hagia Sofia Museum: formerly the Church of Santa Sophia

its mighty dome, in the harmony of colours and symmetry of line and form. The very stones tell us how the orthodoxy and dogmatism of Byzantine emperors had narrowed and compressed the circle of its influence, century after century, until it was burst wide by the liberating forces of Turkey, only again to have its doors closed and its splendours concealed behind unworthy coverings during the later period of egoistic Ottoman intolerance. The New Turkey threw open the gates and removed the lime-wash, transforming the ancient Christian church and Moslem mosque into a museum where all mankind might enjoy its beauty and the wisdom of its art.

Saxa loquuntur! The stones of Istanbul speak of the indissoluble union of the Turkish spirit and the soil of Anatolia.

PART TWO

TURKEY

AND

TURKISH PEOPLE

CHAPTER V

KAMÂL ATATURK

WORLD WAR AND COLLAPSE—SAMSUN—THE CONGRESS OF ERZERUM AND SIVAS—THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—THE BATTLE OF THE SAKARIA—END OF THE SULTANATE—CREATION OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY—LAUSANNE—PROCLAMATION OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC—END OF THE CALIPHATE—OPPOSITION AND REACTION—REFORMS—ATATURK

IN August 1914 one bullet at Serajevo set the world in flames, and rapidly, all too rapidly for her interests, Turkey found herself being whirled into the midst of the conflagration. Two enemy fleets had tried to force the Dardanelles, then a powerful expeditionary force of picked troops was assembled in Egypt and the latest battleships attempted to get to Constantinople at any cost. "To be or not to be!" The problem was one of life or death for Turkey, and it was to be solved among the rocky cliffs of Gallipoli—Gallipoli whose means of defence existed for the most part on paper.

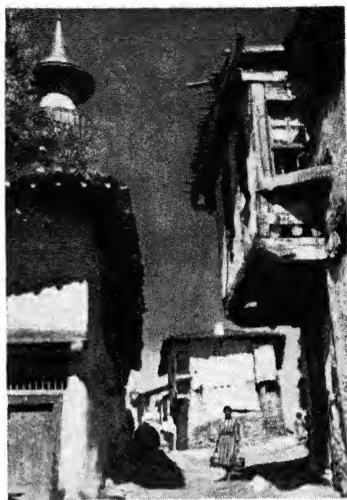
A young lieutenant-colonel arrived there in command of a division which after only a few weeks of war had proved itself second to none in the whole army of Turkey. The English began landing their troops in his sector, but though the forces at his command were inferior to those of the attackers, he stood his ground firmly upon those steep cliffs. Had he yielded at this moment Gallipoli, Constantinople, the war itself would have been lost. From April to December he withstood attack after attack, assault upon assault, trench warfare and close bayonet fighting, and held his own against increasing reinforcements of the English troops and the superior artillery of the formidable

“Kitchener’s Army”. The lieutenant-colonel was promoted colonel, and instead of a division, now commanded the key position of the whole front. Under the heaviest fire, in the trenches, or in the shelter of some rock, he planned his campaign with mathematical precision; if a gun-layer were missing, he directed the fire; in the last decisive assault he led his decimated reserves; he was always with his men, in the scorching heat, in the hot, choking dust of the rocky soil, tirelessly concerned about their rest and rations, though he himself went on ceaselessly without water or sleep. He knew every stone of his position, every hole in the ground, the condition of each company, the capacity or weakness of every subordinate. Under the heaviest bombardment he kept an iron calm, sure of his judgment and initiative. He lived with his men and felt for them; he was their friend, their father, their idol. He saved Gallipoli and Turkey and wrested victory from the English with only “two minutes” to spare. The name of the victor was Mustapha Kemal. . . .

The war continued. Enver Pasha had conceived the plan of attacking the Russians from the rear, and a hundred thousand picked Anatolian troops fought a rigorous winter campaign among the snow-covered, bleak peaks of the Caucasus. Only twelve thousand of them returned, sick, starving, in rags—the remnant of the Second Army. The Russians had taken Erzerum, Van, Bitlis and Mush and were preparing to invade the heart of Turkey. But the Second Army received a new commander. He organized sanitary and ambulance corps, victualling and equipment services, created new battalions and regiments, and reorganized depots and hospitals. He saw to the provision of arms and munitions, drilled his men and instructed his staff, and inspired the troops with new élan and a disciplined enthusiasm. The Second Army was re-born. Manœuvring cautiously, he slowly grouped his forces in forward positions, recaptured Van, Bitlis and Mush and headed for Batum. The Russians retreated and once more the Caucasian front was securely held. The commander of the Second Army was Mustapha Kemal Pasha, his chief-of-staff—Colonel Ismet. . . .

And the war still went on. . . . Prince Vaheddin, heir to the Turkish throne, visited German Headquarters on the Western front. Among his retinue of insignificant and obsequious

courtiers was a young, energetic general who refused to be bluffed or imposed upon by Ludendorff, Hindenburg or the Kaiser. He opposed Turkish pride to the overbearing self-sufficiency of the German General Staff. He posed questions, sought to discover their objectives, insisted on detailed explanations. He scrutinized, compared, analysed; he went into the front line, to the firing-steps and observation-posts, formed his own judgment,



formulated criticism and frankly gave his opinion. He foresaw the inevitable collapse and laid his ideas and plans before the future sultan so that Turkey might be saved from the worst in time. His project was precise and well thought out. The Prince listened to him, considered his plan . . . and was silent. The general was Mustapha Kemal Pasha. . . .

The war carried on to its close. Prince Vaheddin became Mehmed VI. A military leader, young in years but old in experience, appeared three times in audience before the new sultan, pointing out in grave, in pressing terms the approaching menace of a catastrophe and the only possible way to avert it. Mehmed VI listened and remained silent. The young, war-toughened general assumed command of the Seventh Army, which protected the way to Syria via Palestine. It was in a desperate situation—the strength of the regiments was reduced, the men demoralized, without reinforcements and often without water. The enemy was in overwhelming superiority, with fresh, well-trained troops, supported by strong artillery and a powerful air force, and with them were the insurgent Arab tribes with Colonel Lawrence at their head, the leader of "The Revolt in the Desert". The attack came from the front, from the flank, from the rear. Aeroplanes machine-gunned the close ranks of the men, bombed the convoys

and artillery. Bands of Arabs blew up the bridges, destroyed the railway-track and massacred everyone who fell into their hands. Nevertheless the Seventh Army shook off the enemy. Its commander was always to be found at the most dangerous spot, the last to cross the last bridge, the first to reconnoitre a new position, day and night in the saddle, checking any inclination to panic. The Army fought its way through the narrow strip of land between the Jordan and the Arabian Desert, reached Damascus, only to find itself menaced in the rear by the English fleet lying at Beirut. It continued its retreat across the Syrian tableland beyond Aleppo and occupied the slopes of the Taurus and the only pass giving access to Anatolia. Here it awaited the enemy and repulsed him, and this line marks to-day the Turkish frontier. The commander of the Seventh Army was Mustapha Kemal Pasha; two of his army corps were commanded by Colonel Ismet. . . .

The war had come to an end. Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia were lost. The grey tubes of English naval guns menaced Constantinople, French troops patrolled Stamboul, the Italians were at Persa, and Senegalese at Galata. The police and gendarmerie, the port, the forts and defences were controlled by the officers of the victorious Allies. Italy held Anatolia with a hinterland that stretched as far as the Ægean coast, Konia, Akshehir and Afionkarahisar. France occupied the vilayet of Adana; England the zone of the Dardanelles, Samsun, Mersifon, Urfa, Marash and Ayntap, and the whole length of the Anatolian railway. The Greeks installed themselves at Smyrna and occupied the surrounding district. Irregulars infested the Black Sea coast from Samsun to Trabzon, proclaiming a "Pontic Republic". The region of Kars became part of a new Armenian state, and a "League for the Restoration of the Kurds" was active in Diarbekir, Bitlis and Elaziz. The dismemberment and destruction of Turkey had been agreed upon.

SAMSUN

AND what of Turkey? There was one man who realized the situation clearly and precisely, and at the same time burnt with a patriotic ardour: "The Padishah-caliph has but one anxiety—

to save his own life and ensure security for himself; the Government is similarly preoccupied. The nation is unaware that it has no leader; it lives in darkness and uncertainty, faced with a gloomy future. The army exists only in name. Commanders and troops are exhausted by the hardships and exertions of the World War. Their hearts bleed when they contemplate the threatened dismemberment of the fatherland. Standing on the brink of the abyss which is yawning before their very eyes, they are racking their brains to discover a way out, a means of escape from the danger. . . .

“Those who realized clearly the whole extent of this menace and the approach of a fatal catastrophe, sought some means whereby they might save the country, each following his own feelings and guided by his immediate circumstances. But centuries of traditional subjection to religion and the caliphs, to the sultan and the throne, still dominated them. They looked first and foremost for help and salvation to the padishah and caliph, and nothing else could trouble them. To save the country and leave him in danger was inconceivable for them, and woe to those who dared express a contrary opinion, they were traitors, without faith or patriotism, to be scorned and despised. Not only the mass of the people thought in this fashion, but the whole intellectual élite of Turkey. . . .

“It seemed of the utmost importance that the victors of the war should not be upset. It was firmly fixed in everybody’s mind that it was impossible to re-open hostilities with England, France and Italy. It would have been regarded as sheer madness to risk an attack on any one of the



Ghazi Mustapha Kemal

victorious powers which had vanquished and crushed the Ottoman Empire, mighty Germany and Austria-Hungary. There were, however, a number of public and secret organizations, party associations and committees, but all striving towards different goals. Some wished to maintain the Ottoman Empire in its integrity, some to place it under the protection of England, others to give a mandate to the United States of America. Others regarded the destruction of the Empire as an accomplished fact and saw the solution of the problem in either some sort of federation of the various parts into which it was now split, or the setting up of independent states with the support of foreign powers. . . .

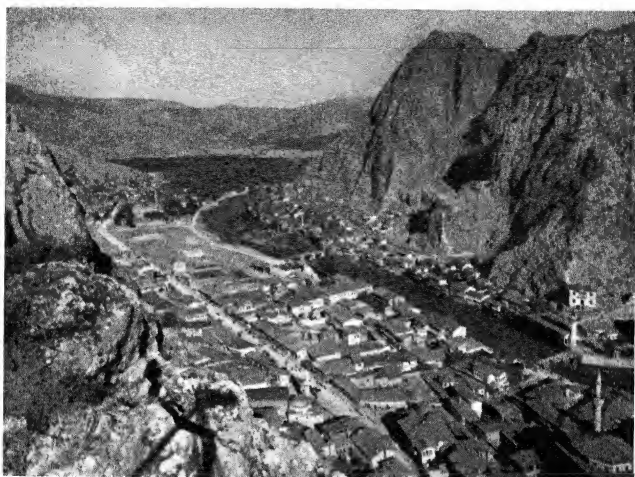
"But—the Ottoman Empire, independence, padishah, caliph and government—all of them were mere words, empty and meaningless. . . ."

It was thus that Mustapha Kemal Pasha envisaged the situation in Turkey.

In ministerial cabinets and the halls of the Seraglio, in clubs and the parliamentary lobbies, the most diverse and ridiculous projects were conceived. There were endless plottings and whisperings, threats and shuffles. Diplomatic commissions were filled with the loud rustling of legal documents, memoranda, secret reports carrying with them petty hopes and megalomaniac plans, promises of credit and cash, of arms and transport. There was a confusion of leagues and federations, a swarming of real and make-believe patriots, of agents and spies. But then, above the whispering and rustling rose a voice, through dull resignation and timid hope went a thrill which seemed to emanate from some profound and ancient, some almost forgotten source of energy . . . and this voice said:

"Life means struggle and conflict. Success in life means victory in the fight. Victory is based on material power and moral force. All human problems, the dangers incurred in solving them and their solutions, are but the consequences of this eternal battle.

"Every defeat begins with fear and discouragement. Nations are like individuals, they can only lay claim to esteem if they can give concrete proof of their power and capacity. The Turkish nation is confronted with a new ordeal, the most severe it has yet encountered, and the testing-place is the world. Can it count on



Amasia

the esteem, goodwill and friendship of others before it has undergone the test?

“The Turk is both dignified and proud, he is capable and energetic. A nation of such men prefers to perish than live in slavery. For all who honestly desire to save their country there is only one solution of the problem—freedom or death!

“Let the entire nation take up arms against any who dares lay a finger on the independence of the Turkish fatherland!

“And, after the struggle—work! Work within our own frontiers on national soil, for the happiness and prosperity of the country and the nation, relying on our own strength to maintain our independent existence, and to forswear absolutely that reckless, extravagant striving after phantoms and fantasies which has brought every possible misfortune upon the people.

“We must create a new, independent, Turkish state, founded upon national sovereignty, without reservation and limitation!”

It was an exhortation that breathed the very spirit of Anatolia. Mustapha Kemal had felt that spirit vibrate within himself and he expressed it in terms comprehensible to the masses. He put his words into action and vowed:

“By all that I hold sacred I swear that I will work with the

nation loyally and devotedly until we have gained complete independence. I will never abandon Anatolia!"

On the 19th May, 1919, Mustapha Kemal landed at Samsun, as Inspector-General of the Third Army, with the powers of General over the whole of the eastern vilayets of Anatolia. He had drafted his instructions himself, for Colonel Ismet was Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of War.

THE CONGRESS OF ERZERUM AND SIVAS

THE sultan's ministers had affixed their seals to the document which gave him plenary powers with little hesitation; they believed he was one of them and had not the faintest suspicion of his aims. A few friends knew a little about his plans, but none knew the whole of them, for he realized that any declaration of his project for the future would have caused a premature disturbance of traditional opinion, created conflict and aroused opposition and endangered the successful accomplishment of his ideas. The only safe road for him and for the nation must be trodden step by step, and each stage of the working out of his plan must be revealed at the appropriate time. From the very first day he never deviated a hair's-breadth from this line, and he was alone as he took the first steps along this path.

There were six army corps in Anatolia, but reduced to mere skeletons of their former strength. There were staffs of officers, but no soldiers; some regiments consisted of twenty or thirty men, without equipment or ammunition. The total strength amounted in all to fifty thousand men, scattered about the country. Mustapha Kemal went to Amasia. Telegrams, messages and circular letters were sent to all the provincial governors, to commanding officers and inspectors:

"Organize popular demonstrations, convoke national assemblies of protest. Address motions of confidence to the Sublime Porte, and protests to the representatives of the Great Powers. Maintain the greatest dignity and order. Report results."

These instructions were carried out as planned. Meetings were organized, protests were made, and the officials reported as desired. The national organization spread and the nation began to move. The first step had been taken.

Mustapha Kemal penetrated farther into the country. He went to Sivas, to Erzerum, and then returned to Sivas. He spoke to officers, officials and private individuals, and declared his views more openly and with greater precision :

“ The integrity of the country is threatened and her independence is in danger. The central government is unequal to its task, the energy and will of the nation alone can save us. Every lover of freedom must be prepared to sacrifice the last breath in his body; he must leave his occupation or his office and publicly raise his voice in justice to the nation, and win the people to our cause. He must follow his leader, whoever he may be, and engage himself in the task till death overtakes him.”

He did not hurry them—ample time was given them for consideration. They consulted one another and exchanged views. Many followed him, asking him to be their leader and vowing him obedience. A number remained undecided, afraid to take the decisive step which would mean a complete severance of the tie with the sultan, with Constantinople, which must entail loss of office, honours and old associations.

Mustapha Kemal resigned from his official position and renounced his title and military rank. Henceforward he was a mere private individual. For Mehmed VI and Constantinople he no longer existed—except as a rebel. He announced it himself to the people and the troops :

“ The nation and the national will alone are sovereign leaders in the conduct of the nation’s destiny. The army obeys them alone. Constantinople no longer commands in Anatolia! ”

It was another step forward.

From that time he no longer stood alone. Congresses met, first at Erzerum, consisting only of delegates from the eastern vilayets, afterwards at Sivas, with deputies from nearly all the provinces. He was elected chairman. They settled their rules of procedure and elected a representative committee of which he was the head. They published a manifesto :

“ The nation is an indivisible entity. It will resist as one man any interference or occupation by a foreign power. Should the government in Constantinople decline to safeguard these aims, Congress will form a provisional government to do so. A foreign mandate or protectorate is out of the question.”

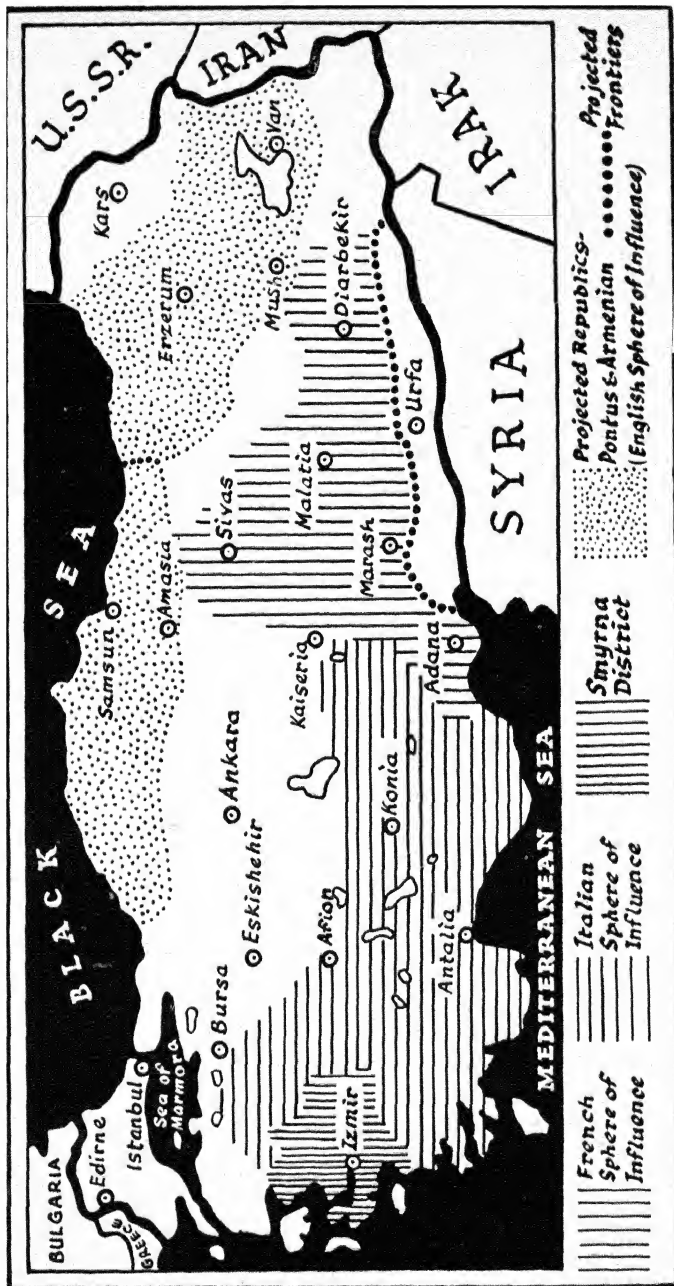
An address of loyalty was sent to the Sultan—"the exalted ruler and glorious caliph". Whatever happened, the Padishah should not be involved. Only the Grand Vizier and his government appeared to be aimed at. Another phase was revealed in the clear light of day.

Mehmed VI understood and, as before, remained silent. Doubt assailed many of the older officials and officers, brought up to revere the Throne and the Caliphate as a most sacred tenet of belief. Mustapha Kemal reassured them. Certain provincial governors and commanders obstructed his orders and instructions. Mustapha Kemal had them removed. Congresses discussed for whole days on end the idea of becoming a protectorate, or some other triviality. He knew how to handle them. Secret agents of the Seraglio stirred up some of the Kurdish tribes and tried to lead them against Sivas. Mustapha Kemal drove them off. Manifestos from Constantinople sought to sow confusion and doubt among the people—but Mustapha Kemal prevented its spread. The menace of foreign intervention was invoked. Mustapha Kemal replied:

"The Turkish people fears neither suffering nor sacrifice. It does not recognize defeat as long as it remains in existence, for defeat means death."

He demanded a general election, the resignation of the government, and finally broke off all relations with Constantinople. His attack was directed against the Sublime Porte, never against the majesty of the padishah and caliph. But Mehmed VI understood. . . .

A new government was formed. The Chamber assembled at Constantinople, then occupied by eighty thousand foreign troops, French, English, Italians and Greeks. The English Mediterranean fleet lay there at anchor, the Interallied High Commissioners were in command, and there was the same old atmosphere, the scrambling after influence, the rivalries and everlasting grudges. Mehmed VI opened Parliament on the 19th January 1920. Mustapha Kemal went from Sivas to Ankara, organizing further resistance and making arrangements for the provision of arms and money. The foreign garrisons were forced to evacuate Marash and Urfa, as well as Samsun. The excitement spread to Adana and Izmir (Smyrna). Irregulars shipped a whole store



The Partition of Anatolia in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres



of arms from Gallipoli to Izmir on rafts, under the noses of the Control Commission. Mustapha Kemal foresaw what must inevitably happen.

Telegram followed telegram from Constantinople: "Here—telegraphist—Monastirli Hamdi. . . . The English are at Tophane disembarking troops. . . . They have occupied the Ministry of War . . . they are cutting the wires. . . . We have six dead. . . . They are getting in. . . . Cut the lines . . . they are here. . . ." Then all the deputies and politicians suspected of

nationalist sympathies were deported to Malta on an English man-of-war. Those who could, fled to Ankara. The last Ottoman Parliament came to an end after a two-months' session.

An English general proclaimed a state of siege in Constantinople: ". . . The supreme duty of every citizen is to obey the orders of the sultan. Whoever provokes any disturbance of public order or renders any assistance to the enemy . . . and whoever . . . and whoever . . . will be brought before a court-martial." And Mehmed VI thought he had conquered.

For days on end Mustapha Kemal was telegraphing from Ankara. By his orders the officers of the Interallied Control Commission in the various Anatolian towns were seized as hostages, foreign troops made prisoners and transported beyond the frontiers, until all foreign control had disappeared from the interior of Anatolia. Then he ordered new elections and proclaimed the opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey at Ankara. He ordered that on this occasion the whole of the Koran and the Bukhari containing all the traditional sayings of the Prophet should be read in every mosque throughout the country, accompanied by solemn prayers imploring the Almighty "soon to restore freedom, salvation and happiness to His Majesty the exalted Padishah and Sultan, to the countries and states beneath his imperial sway, and to all his humble subjects—the independence of their faith, their nation and their fatherland." In the Hadshi-Beiram mosque at Ankara he had solemn prayers

said under the symbol of the sacred flag and two sheep sacrificed as a votive offering so that the light of the Koran might be shed over all true believers, for the deliverance of the illustrious caliph and sultan, the fatherland and the people. And all this was printed, published, proclaimed and distributed to the most distant villages, the smallest garrison town and army camp, and appeared in the press and institutions of the whole land. Mehmed VI understood.

THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

MEHMED VI began to resort to all kinds of expedients to outwit his opponents. He excommunicated Mustapha Kemal, set the clergy against him and raised the Army of the Caliph to combat him on the field of battle. Mustapha Kemal was condemned to death, a price was put upon his head—whoever killed him was assured of a spiritual and material reward. *Fetwas* and manifestos were dropped from aeroplanes all over the provinces, sowing hate, fanaticism and disloyalty against him, inciting town against town, village against village, and family against family. The country was in flames. The Kurds revolted once more, the Armenians attacked, the Greeks advanced into Anatolia and the French were a dangerous menace in the district round Adana. Mehmed VI signed the Treaty of Sèvres, recognizing the independence of Kurdistan, the creation of a new Armenia, the loss of Izmir and Thrace to the Greeks, and the various occupied regions to England, France and Italy. He signed away the control of the Dardanelles, agreed to disarmament, the payment of indemnities and reparations. Mehmed VI signed Turkey's death warrant, but he thought he had saved thereby his throne.

In the meantime the National Assembly was deliberating at Ankara. Here, too, the force of ancient traditions and ideas was strong; words like caliph, padishah and sultan were still revered, and Mustapha Kemal had to exercise the greatest circumspection and conceal most carefully his supreme goal—New Turkey. For two days, in public and secret meetings, he parleyed with hesitant deputies, arguing and discussing, step by step, stage by stage. At last the following resolution was passed:

“The will of the nation as expressed in this Assembly is the



sole arbiter of its destiny and no superior power exists to control it. The Assembly is the sovereign ruler and combines in itself all the powers of government. A council to be elected by the Assembly shall have complete executive authority. The position of the sultan-caliph will be determined upon later by the Assembly in accordance with legal principles."

It was, in effect, the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, the name alone was missing. Few realized this exactly; only one person was definitely aware of it, the President of the National Assembly and of the Council of Ministers, Mustapha Kemal. Colonel Ismet was appointed by the new government Chief of the General Staff.

The revolts were suppressed, the Army of the Caliph was repulsed, and the Kurds were driven back into their mountain fastnesses. Kars was recaptured from the Armenians and a treaty was concluded with them, the first peace treaty of the New Turkey. Plenipotentiaries were sent to Moscow to draw up a treaty with Russia. France entered into *pourparlers* about Adana and an armistice was granted; these were the first official negotiations with the Entente. Mustapha Kemal declared:

"Our goal is the complete independence of the nation within its national, natural boundaries. Whoever stands in our way is our enemy, we shall fight him and we shall win. Upon this we are firmly resolved."

His troops continued their advance towards the Gulf of Izmit. The foreign garrisons were already preparing for the evacuation of Constantinople. The bridges of the Golden Horn were mined,

stores all packed up and archives burnt. The "Big Four" at Paris could not grasp what was happening. They could only see "a rebel general" and "bands of brigands". The Greeks were ordered to bring Turkey to reason and they marched forward.

THE BATTLE OF THE SAKARIA

THE divisions which Mustapha Kemal had at his disposal for the defence of the country were mere cadres, without reserves, and with insufficient munitions. The bulk of his troops was still scattered about the eastern provinces. His principal support against the fresh invasion consisted of bands of irregulars called the "Green Army", men brave to foolhardiness, daring, but difficult to hold in check and entirely without discipline. They were led by three brothers, ambitious Circassian *bravi*. They had a strong hold over the masses and their prestige was manifest even in the Assembly. They enlisted recruits, levied taxes, and began to form a state within the State. The Greeks continued their advance in Thrace as far as Edirne and then pushed forward to the Bosphorus. They drove back the Turks at Izmit and pushed forward on the Anatolian side of Constantinople. They occupied Bursa and Balikesir, got as far as Ushak and Nazilli. Here they entrenched themselves and fixed their base. Two further divisions were added to their strength with artillery and aeroplanes, and preparations were made for a decisive attack on Ankara.

Mustapha Kemal had to face depression and wrangling in the Assembly, menaces, reactionary propaganda and manœuvring, the jealousies of politically minded generals and the insubordination of his Circassian *condottieri*. But now Colonel Ismet stood beside him. Ismet had stayed the advance of the Greeks by two glorious victories at İnönü, and gained a breathing space for the further organization of the defence. He checked the insubordination of the Circassian brothers and incorporated the Green Army into the regular troops with military discipline. But the Greeks continued their concentration of reinforcements, artillery and munitions, and every kind of war material. Alarming telegrams arrived from the front. The national army had to retreat from Kutahia, Afionkarahisar and Eskishehir. Important depots of



Turkish Ox Wagons or "Kagni"

stores had to be sacrificed when every tin of food, every cartridge was a vital necessity and had been transported and assembled so laboriously. All the roads to Ankara from the invaded regions were crowded with columns of wagons laden with women and children. The country was swarming with spies and assassins. But Mustapha Kemal remained calm and said:

"My confidence in our victory, my faith, cannot be shaken. I proclaim to the nation, to the whole world: We shall win!"

He called not only upon the army at the front, but upon the whole nation to fight. He appealed to each individual whether in the fields or in the workshops—to the whole of Turkey with all its material resources and moral strength, to their every thought and emotion. He declared: "We have not a line of defence—but a plane of defence—the whole of Turkey."

And they rallied round him. Every man capable of shouldering a rifle, or with knowledge of a trade answered the call. Smiths and moulders, carpenters, saddlers and tailors. Every family sent linen and woollen wearing apparel, every merchant material for uniforms, leather for boots, axes, nails, blankets, saddles, halters, harness, cables. Corn and straw, flour, sugar, salt, rice, oil, tea and candles came from all quarters. Horses and carts, heavy wagons with their teams of oxen and buffaloes,

pack-horses, camels, asses came for hundreds of miles along the roads and tracks. The whole of Anatolia was on the march with the slow, deliberate tread of the Turkish peasant. And each step, each hoof-beat was impregnating the soil of Anatolia with the age-old Turkish spirit.

The Greeks launched their attack on the 23rd of August 1921. Day and night for three weeks the assault continued, attack and counter-attack, until both sides were completely exhausted. But Mustapha Kemal was the "Ghazi", the victor in the battle on the banks of the Sakaria. The Greeks had to fall back on their former positions beyond Eskishehir . . . and the fighting went on.

A year passed by. During that time Franklin-Bouillon had undertaken his diplomatic mission to Ankara. France had begun to realize that the Ottoman Empire had ceased to exist and a New Turkey had been born in Anatolia, to which the right of existence, with complete sovereignty and without limitation as to economic, financial and cultural development, could no longer be denied. Russia had come to the same opinion and had ratified the Treaty of Moscow, whilst Italy had adopted an attitude of benevolent neutrality. Paris and London started at the eleventh hour to seek an honourable, and possibly advantageous solution of the "Eastern question".

During the same period at Ankara the first enthusiasm had cooled off, the Assembly was becoming an arena resounding with the cries of opposition, and of innumerable political crises. "Why", they asked, "does the army not attack instead of letting week after week, month after month slide by?" Others loudly maintained: "Our enemy is not Greece; we must defeat England. Attack her in Irak! War against England!" Still others pleaded: "We mustn't begin an offensive. We are too weak! We have no armaments!" They gave Mustapha Kemal advice: "Our sole prospects of success lie in the political field", or they complained: "Our *generalissimo* has enslaved the nation—our laws forbid it." A whole chorus yelled and shouted: "Where are we going? Who leads us? Whither? Should the whole nation be kept in uncertainty? Should we be kept in the dark?" . . .

But on the 5th September a telegram came from the front:

“The Greek army has been decisively defeated. Any serious resistance in the future is impossible. . . .

“MUSTAPHA KEMAL.”

His order of the day had been: “Soldiers, forward! Your goal is the Mediterranean. Advance!” And by the 9th September the Turkish troops had reached the quays of Smyrna.

Negotiations for an armistice were opened in the town hall of Mudania, a small port on the Marmora. Four generals were present, representing England, France, Italy and Turkey. Ismet Pasha presided.

The Greeks had to evacuate Thrace and withdraw to the banks of the Maritza. Then began the Conference of Lausanne and lasted nine months. The leader of the Turkish delegation was Ismet Pasha.

END OF THE SULTANATE

AND what of Mehmed VI? He was still the Sultan and Caliph, still His Majesty. But in the precincts of Yildiz-Kiosh profound silence reigned. Here was a throne without an empire, a monarch without power, without ministers and no government; just so many fictions and phantoms fading away like shadows—shadows, indeed, of the “Shadow of God upon Earth”. Mustapha Kemal wanted light for Anatolia, strong, life-giving light. These shadows had oppressed the Turkish spirit for centuries, these vampires had sucked the very blood from Turkey’s veins, the reality of the people of Anatolia had been sacrificed for these fictitious figures.

It was not a question of Mehmed VI personally, or his ministers. It was the triumph of an idea which was at stake—the idea of a national and modern Turkish state, supported by the whole nation and prepared to serve it alone, a nation which would be politically and economically independent and protected by its own strong frontiers. There would be no sultan, no caliph, no Pan-Turanism, Pan-Islamism or any other Pan-Utopias of equality and fraternity. This state was to be built upon a scientific, rational, logical basis. Mustapha Kemal was dealing with realities. And he realized his plan . . . step by step, stage

by stage, always at the propitious moment, never deviating a hair's-breadth from the lines he had laid down in advance.

He addressed the leaders of the parliamentary groups. They did not understand him. They spoke of family traditions, of their fathers who had been faithful servants of the empire and on whom the sultans and caliphs had bestowed numerous favours, dignities and honours. They spoke of gratitude, of society and up-bringing, and declared that nothing should be done that might upset loyalty to the dynasty and respect for the throne and the caliphate. Such a plan as Mustapha Kemal envisaged would only cause disillusionment and probably their downfall. Then he addressed himself to the whole Chamber. There were debates, discussion, and special committees, many speakers and endless speeches, ranging from canonical law and the Koran to the theory and form of government, from sovereignty to usurpation. It was obvious this was not the way to a prompt solution, and certainly not to the solution he wanted.

He declared: "Academic discussions lead nowhere! We must separate the sultanate from the caliphate and suppress the former. The sovereign right to guide the conduct of affairs lies in the nation. The House of Osman acquired that right by violence and exercised it by the use of force for six centuries. They are usurpers. The nation has revolted against them and regained that right. It would be of assistance, I believe, if everyone in this Assembly were to find this view a proper and a natural one. In any case, the reality of the situation must be made manifest, though possibly in another way. Then, however, it may be necessary for some heads to be cut off!"

The fate of the sultanate and the Ottoman Empire was sealed. Mehmed VI left Constantinople on an English man-of-war and retired to San Remo. The Grand National Assembly proclaimed Abdul Mejid Effendi, cousin of the late sultan, caliph, but with no temporal powers. Yet the opposition continued. . . .

CREATION OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

THEN Ghazi Mustapha Kemal turned to the people. He travelled through the country, stopping at towns and villages, inviting questions, explaining his plans, elucidating various points, recon-

ciling differences, giving lectures and making speeches, some of which lasted for six and seven hours.

He talked to all those who had trusted him from the first moment he set foot in Anatolia, at Samsun, and who had left their jobs and desks, ready to sacrifice everything if he would but be their leader. He spoke to those who had fought at his word of command the Kurds and the Armenians, the English and the French. To those who had come hundreds of miles from all over Anatolia with their carts and horses, with their wagons and buffaloes, with packhorses, camels and asses, to face death for three long weeks on the banks of the Sakaria and to conquer. He came to speak with those valiant men who at his order "Forward to the Mediterranean" had driven the last of the Greek troops from the soil of Anatolia. He talked to artisans and small traders, to peasants and soldiers. The entire country, the whole of Anatolia once again listened to the voice of the victorious leader, their Ghazi.

He knew that they trusted in him in spite of the ambitious gestures and theories of the politicians, the opposition in the Chamber, in spite of *hodjas*, *sheiks*, *dervishes* and *ulemas*, just as in the days when he was outlawed and proscribed with a price upon his head they had taken up arms for him against the Army of the Caliph. He felt certain that Anatolia and the Turkish



Izmir: Celebrating the Independence of Turkey

people would follow him step by step, and stage by stage, and was convinced that they preferred first to act at the appointed hour and then to listen to theory. To these people who had manifested their confidence in him he set out in a brief programme a few essential principles, without ideological subtleties or discussion of obscure problems, but concerned with practical, substantial matters. These principles sufficed. The people were with him to the last man and swore fealty. Thus was created the leader's party, the party of the whole nation, the People's Party.

He then returned to the Chamber to confront the opposition, to listen to interminable and futile debates and to face a vehement press campaign. The attack at first was an indirect one. The delegation at Lausanne was reproached for its dilatoriness, its lack of energy—just as he had been after the battle of the Sakaria—for ignoring instructions, and its recall was asked for. They seemed to aim at Ismet Pasha, but Kemal was their target. He shielded Ismet and the attack became sharper and more direct. A motion was submitted to the Chamber proposing that deputies must have been born within the present boundaries of Turkey—Mustapha Kemal was born at Salonika—or they must have been domiciled for at least five successive years in their actual electoral district. Mustapha Kemal for the last five years had been campaigning in Gallipoli, Erzerum, Bitlis and Mush, in Palestine and Syria, in Eskishehir and Smyrna, in Samsun, Sivas and Ankara; he had never lived for five consecutive years in any one place. He replied: "As deputies each of you represents the nation. Does the nation think as you do?"

The session was brought to a close and new elections took place. The people followed the advice of the Ghazi and gave their votes to the candidates he recommended to them, to those who subscribed to the basic principles set out in his short programme, in brief, to the candidates of the People's Party. The new Chamber assembled, but the opposition still continued. . . .

The Treaty of Lausanne was concluded, the first treaty of the World War to be negotiated and not dictated. It was a victory of arms as well as a diplomatic success, gained by patient manœuvring step by step, stage by stage, for nine long months among the twelve powers represented at Lausanne, by clever steering between

the Scylla of High Finance and the Charybdis of Power Politics, between the question of the Ruhr and petrol concessions. Nothing remained of the Treaty of Sèvres and the humiliation of Ottoman days; capitulations, financial control, zones of influence were bad dreams, a boggy of the past. The new Turkish State was national, politically and economically independent, exercising sovereign rule without limitation or reservation. It was an accomplished fact, a reality. Ankara was made the capital, as a symbol of the new régime.

But the opposition refused to surrender. The same old factions arose once more, the same personal ambitions, the same old feuds between particular cliques and groups, the same political sophistry and chatter, the same extravagant sensationalism of the press. They thought and argued on the same old lines, in vicious circles, endlessly and exclusively. It was time for Mustapha Kemal to take the next step along the straight line he had traced for himself in advance.

PROCLAMATION OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

HE no longer appeared in the Chamber, but contented himself with pulling the wires from a distance. The government resigned. Different groups tried to form a ministry, but no candidates offered themselves. Other groups attempted the same thing, but with no better success. There was no cabinet and the Assembly with its factions and groups and clubs had no one to tender it advice. Finally they had to seek a way out from Mustapha Kemal. That very night, together with Ismet Pasha, he drafted the following bill:

“The form of government of the Turkish State is a republic. It is administered by the Grand National Assembly which exercises executive power through the medium of ministers. The President of the Republic shall be elected from among the members of the Assembly. He is the head of the State and presides, when he considers it necessary, over the Assembly as well as at the Council of Ministers. He shall select the President of the Council from among the said members and he in turn selects the other ministers. The President of the Republic shall submit the names of the entire cabinet to the Assembly for approval.”

The following night, the 29th October 1923, the bill had become law. The Turkish Republic was proclaimed, its President was elected and a salute of a hundred and one guns was fired to announce the events to the country. The President selected who should preside over the Council of Ministers, and the latter selected the ministers of the various departments. Ghazi Mustapha Kemal was elected President, and he designated Ismet Pasha as President of the Council.

All the people, the artisans, small traders, soldiers and peasants were satisfied. Their Ghazi, the leader in whom they had complete confidence, was at their head. That was all they wanted. He had led them faithfully up to now; they knew that the security of their land and of the state could be safely left in his hands. They rallied closer round him and he bound himself ever more closely to them. The People's Party constituted an intimate bond. Every villager had a say in the village congresses, every village expressed its views at the district congress, every district at the great Party Congress—the whole nation was represented. And the word of Mustapha Kemal was heard at every congress, throughout the districts and in every village. The whole nation was his audience as he declared:

“Our people are not divided into different classes, each striving against the other. We are first and foremost a nation of peasants. How many of us are big landowners? And what is the extent of their estates? Besides the peasants there are the artisans in our towns and small traders. Have we any capitalists? If so, what capital can they dispose of? Have we any millionaires? We have workmen, not a great number at present, but soon we shall want many more, for our land needs factories, machinery and industries as much as the land needs peasants to till it. The country will protect and secure a proper livelihood for our workmen as much as it does for the peasants. And now we come to the other groups, the learned professions, the intellectuals. Can they stand aside and be at enmity with the mass of our people? Is not their only place in the very midst of the people, educating them, explaining their difficulties, raising them up out of their ignorance and helping them along the path of progress and prosperity? Can there be class distinction and rivalries? Are we not all bound together to form an inseparable

whole? You belong to each other, you are all Turkish folk, you are the nation, you are Turkey! You are the People's Party, and this party of the people is not a segment of another whole, it is part of the same whole, the nation, Turkey! "

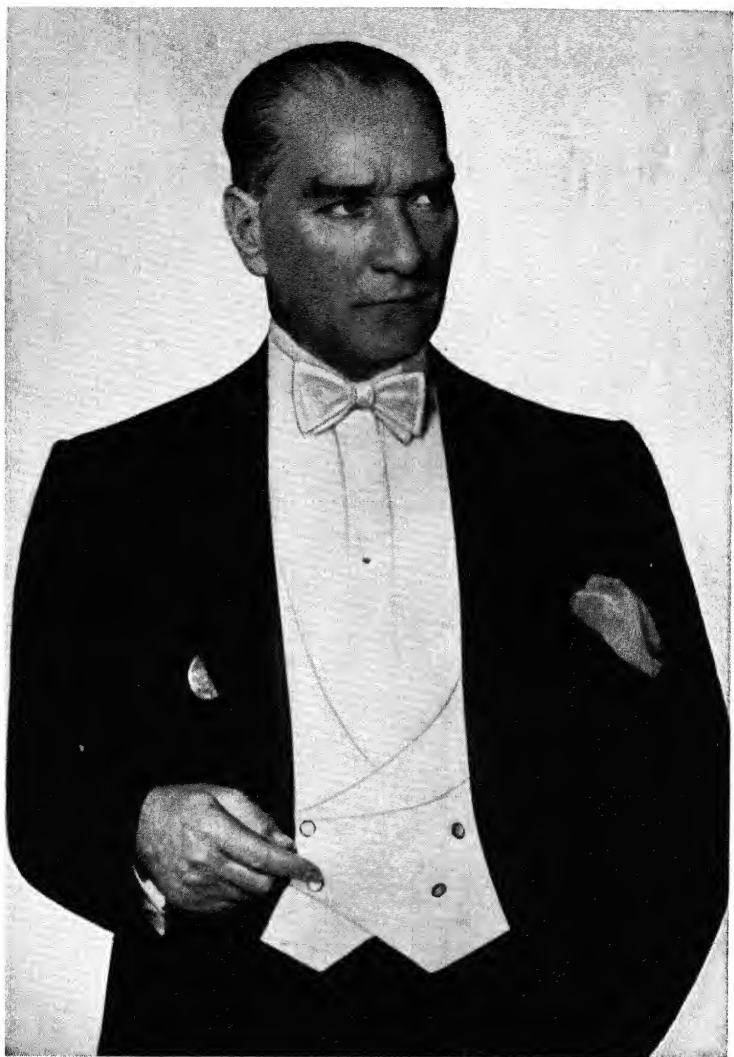
Nobody had ever spoken to them in this way. Mustapha Kemal had found the words to reach their hearts. He was the first to do so, their leader, the national hero, their Ghazi. Yet the opposition in the Chamber persisted. . . .

END OF THE CALIPHATE

THE opposition did not come from the mass of the people, but from certain circles and particular groups, and united the most diverse elements in a common animosity towards the Republic. Monarchists of every shade whose political horizon did not reach beyond the Ottoman concept, a doctrinaire clergy unable to comprehend the separation of Church and State, short-sighted politicians who still sighed for a political Utopia and believed in the power of Pan-Islamism, opportunists who concealed their personal ambition beneath a cloak of political intrigue, profiteers pushing the interests of international finance, agents of worldwide financial combines who believed that now or never was their last chance of reviving the lucrative days of capitulations, concessions and bribery. Their common playground had been Constantinople under the old Ottoman type of régime.

They brandished aloft the flag of the caliphate and armed themselves with such weapons as tradition, religion, dogma. They fomented agitation and excited the masses by speeches and newspaper articles. Their voices found a ready echo in foreign lands, whilst at home they sought to penetrate the masses by means of the schools and the clergy.

Many in close touch with Mustapha Kemal began to reflect. They looked around and saw three hundred million Moslems, the sacred eminence of the caliphate, and the power of religion, tradition and custom over mankind. They suggested he should assume the caliphate, he, the great leader of the East against the West; the victor, the Ghazi should be the caliph. Their desire was echoed by other Moslem states, by India and Egypt. It showed Mustapha Kemal that his idea was not yet understood.



Kamâl Atatürk

He asked them: "Do you know how many of the sons of Anatolia have gone to their deaths for this chimera in the torrid waste of the Yemen? Do you know the losses we suffered for this erroneous conception on the battlefields of Syria, Irak and Egypt? Do you see what has been the result? Do you know of anything that has come of it? No, of course you don't. The new Turkey must think only of its own existence and prosperity." He realized that this was the moment to advance another stage in his plans.

On the 3rd of March 1924 some brief motions were submitted to the Assembly, and the links which for four centuries had seemed indissoluble were broken in as many hours. The caliphate was at an end. Abdul Mejid, last of the caliphs, left Turkey the next morning. But all those who could not agree to leave the old beaten track and follow the new straight road remained, in opposition. . . .

OPPOSITION AND REACTION

IN those four short hours the Turkish Republic had been definitely separated from Islam and become secularized. The schools were taken out of the hands of the clergy, charitable institutions and public welfare foundations such as orphanages, hospitals, kitchens for the poor and homes for the aged, libraries and scholarship funds were transferred from ecclesiastical to civil administration. New, modern codes of law were drafted to replace the ancient ecclesiastical law of the Sheriat. But this was merely a new modern frame—the spirit, the whole mode of thought of the people had to be modernized. Mustapha Kemal realized that, but those upon whose collaboration he counted did not understand him and so again he turned to the people. . . .

"Civilization is like a fire which destroys everything that it encounters. We have suffered enormously, only because we stood still whilst the rest of the world progressed and developed; it is now our turn to advance. Modern civilization, science and technology we must have; our future way lies along those paths. The Turkish Republic must no longer remain a country of sheiks and dervishes, of religious orders and monasteries. There is only one real and rational order in life—civilization. To arrive at



Turkish Boy Scouts

man's estate it is sufficient to follow the commands of civilization and to act in accordance with its demands. None of us needs the guidance of monastic rule, our leader will be the Republic. . . .

"Turkey, the coming Turkey, will need modern men with a modern mental outlook and imbued with the spirit of to-day. The mothers of the future will bear these men. Throughout Turkish history the women have never lagged behind the men, neither in education nor at work, neither in domestic life nor in public. But why do our women still veil their faces and eyes and turn aside at the sight of a man? Is this worthy of a civilized people? Our women are intelligent human beings like ourselves, endowed with common sense. Let them show their faces and let their eyes look out upon the world. A nation eager for progress cannot afford to ignore one half of its people nor deny its women-kind their natural rights. We want to become a strong nation; our wives and daughters will help us serve the fatherland and direct its destiny. Herein lies the security, the life, the honour of our New Turkey."

Once more he travelled the length and breadth of the land, making speeches in town-halls, in schoolrooms, in the open air. This time he no longer wore the fez, nor even the *kalpak*, but a panama hat, like an "infidel", like a foreigner from the West. He even took off his hat in greeting and spoke to them bare-

headed like the Unbelievers, saying: "Away with the fez! Away with every emblem of ignorance, fanaticism and hatred of progress, and let us adopt instead the hat, like the rest of the civilized world, to show that there is no difference between the Turkish way of living and thinking and dress and that of other civilized folk." Nobody before him had ever dared to speak to the people like this.

In the Chamber the opposition was in revolt, openly ranged against the government and the People's Party, secretly, covertly attacking the President. "There must be a committee of inquiry . . . violation of the constitution . . . autocracy . . . dictatorship." Such were the murmurs. They called themselves the Republican Progressive Party and claimed to defend democracy. They attacked him in the press and made propaganda against him in the army. They formed alliances and secret committees to suppress him, and tried to seduce the masses from their allegiance. As a kind of speaking-tube for the conveyance of their views they used the sheiks, dervishes and *chelebis*, the monasteries and religious orders—in brief, all those things and persons of whom Mustapha Kemal had said "We need them not!"

They told the people that they must respect the old pious customs of their forefathers, they must revere and protect the sheiks and their disciples, the *medresses* and the *tekkes*; that it was sinful to trample upon the holy ecclesiastical law of the Sheriat and its precepts in order to adopt the new foreign codes; that the People's Party, the party behind Mustapha Kemal were robbing the nation of the caliphate, laying Islam in ruins, and destroying its glory and ancient widespread culture so as to bring it down to the level of the West, to the standards of the Unbelievers, the *Gaiours*. With every word and every formula the passwords of the new guard—Progress, the Republic and Democracy—echoed fainter and fainter, and counter-revolution, fanaticism and reaction grew stronger day by day. Finally the opposition broke into open rebellion.

Sheik Said, hereditary supreme chief of the Nakshebendi dervishes, led the Kurdish tribes with their monks and priests, in the name of Allah and under the green flag of the Prophet, across the whole of the south-east as far as Charput, Marash and Bitlis, and on the black walls of Diarbekir he posted up proclama-

tions saying: "Down with the Republic! Long life to the sultan-caliph!" But the net of the Kurdish rebellion was flung still wider; its threads could be seen in many parts of the land, in Constantinople, in the founding of an Islamic Secret Society, in editorial offices, clubs and State departments. Its fabric was strengthened finally by the concession-mongers, the old seekers after the profits of capitulations and bribery, by plots and attempts at assassination, revolver shots in Ankara, bombs in Smyrna. The opposition believed it was on the threshold of victory.

But Mustapha Kemal knew that this was no question of political parties, of sheiks, Kurds, tombs and monasteries. Neither the fez nor a few new laws were the real cause. It was a question of the transformation of the very meaning of life, the adoption of new principles and ideas, the creation of a new generation. The renaissance of the Turkish people was at stake and its progress along the path to cultural and economic independence. All this was comprised in his great idea of a new, modern Turkey founded upon science, logic and reason. What-

ever stood in the way of its realization, be it parties, fez, monasteries or existing laws, must be got rid of and destroyed. They were like the boundary marks on the straight road that his will to victory had mapped out.

He mobilized against the Kurds seven, then an eighth and finally nine divisions. Martial law and a state of emergency were proclaimed, courts-martial and special tribunals condemned, executed or exiled every rebel and conspirator. The opposition with its clubs and newspapers was dissolved. Every secret hope



Ghazi Mustapha Kemal

of a return of the old days of bribery and corruption, capitulations and concessions was at an end.

Tekkės, monasteries and tombs were closed, religious sects suppressed and the wearing of the fez forbidden under severe penalties. Domestic and matrimonial affairs were no longer within the jurisdiction of the old ecclesiastical courts. Women were given the same legal status as men and the same moral standard obtained for both sexes. A Faculty of Law, judges and courts were established in accordance with modern conceptions of jurisprudence. The mediæval system of tithes and the leasing of taxes was replaced by an up-to-date fiscal organization. The old Moslem era of the Hegira gave place to the modern Western calendar, and the clocks were set in accordance with European time. Then martial law and the state of emergency and special tribunals were over. The opposition had come to an end.

REFORMS

MUSTAPHA KEMAL's straightforward plan had reached a new stage. He addressed himself to the teachers: "The initial steps on the path which leads to the transformation of the people into a civilized nation depends on the teachers. Teachers! The new generation, the New Turkey will be your work! On your ability and capacity for sacrifice depends the value future generations will accord it. The Turkish Republic needs a bodyguard of intellectual and scientific persons, physically strong and burning with inspiration. It is for you to create it!"

Mustapha Kemal was determined that the New Turkey should be a modern and progressive country, but to achieve that he had to catch up the lead of the Western states by the shortest and most direct way. Realizing that scarcely one-fifth of the population could read or write, he himself became in the true sense of the word the nation's teacher. He undertook the task, like everything else he had done, methodically and gradually.

The Turkish language was not written in modern script, it used the old, complicated, mutilated Arabic characters hallowed by the Koran, which religious scribes had never allowed to be tampered with. But he wanted a writing which was clear and precise, a fit medium to express the thoughts of modern occidental

culture. He consulted experts and savants, studied phonetics and orthography with them, directed, inspired and stimulated the commissions dealing with these matters. In order to render the various Turkish sounds, the most appropriate letters of several occidental alphabets were chosen in accordance with phonetic rules, and the plain characters of Roman type were adopted. In this way the Turkish language acquired a modern new Turkish alphabet.



Ministry of the Interior

This accomplished, he summoned the whole population to school, and himself at the blackboard with chalk in hand, taught them in the open air, in the classroom, in town-halls, in villages and towns both great and small. He went out into the desert, into the mountains and along the coast, teaching throughout the land. His example was infectious. Ministers, deputies, intellectuals and savants taught and explained, stood at the blackboard with chalk in their fingers, and spurred the people on. And everyone came to be taught. Artisans and peasants, small traders and craftsmen, men and women, old and young—they all wanted to read and write. The whole of Turkey was one big school, and everyone, either in special classes, at home or even in cafés, learnt to read and write the new Turkish script. The Chamber passed a law which sets out in Clause One: “The first teacher of the Turkish Republic is its President, Ghazi Mustapha Kemal.”

Then he went a step further and thought of the language itself. Now that the Turkish people was concentrating all its united energy to advance along the shortest and most direct way to

national progress, he felt it essential that the language itself should have the same unity and clarity, and not be divided into two modes of speech: the vernacular, simple, direct, natural, and the stilted, precious language of the spiritual élite, distorted and complicated by the use of borrowed words, circumlocutions and flowery phrases which were quite incomprehensible to the bulk of the people.

He called together the professors and experts once more, asked their views and opinions. He listened, read and studied, outlined a programme and gave directions, and finally he formed a Society for the Study of the Turkish Language. He presided over it in person, gave articles to the press, received the reports, directing, advising and inspiring everyone with his indefatigable zeal. Once more his example was followed: the intellectual élite, literary circles, schools and the press took it up, until the movement had taken hold of the great public. For every foreign word, for every Arabic or Persian phrase, the Turkish equivalent was sought. Dialects and popular turns of speech were studied and ancient literary works, songs and proverbs were carefully examined. Popular enthusiasm unearthed a mass of real old Turkish expressions as well as many foreign phrases; experts examined, sifted and arranged these in logical, rational order and thus formed a really Turkish language.

Mustapha Kemal extended this work. Civilization should give the New Turkey the newest and most modern achievements, but the genius of the race would adapt them to its needs and that of the nation, transform them into something specifically Turkish and pass this on to mankind and the whole world. But did the Turkish people realize what it was to be Turkish, did they understand the essence and action of the dynamic spirit of Turkey and what it had accomplished in the history of human development? Was it not necessary for them to know this, to understand and be nationally conscious of it if they were not to lose their individual and formative characteristics in the flood of novelties?

Mustapha Kemal called once more to the nation. He set in motion plans for forming a staff of historians, archæologists, expert philologists and ethnologists, and assisted their researches. Again it was he who presided, stimulated their activities, spurred them on and directed the lines of their study. He founded the



Girl Guides

Society for the Study of Turkish History and by his magnetism, will-power, energy and wealth of inspiration attracted to it educated people of every class and profession. Conferences, congresses, newspapers commented and explained its scientific theses; terms like Sumerian, Hittite, cuneiform writing and Runic characters became familiar to the masses. Craniometry, ancient migrations and civilizations were discussed and reviewed. A realization of the importance of the Turkish factor in universal history began to replace the narrow conception that the family history of the Ottoman dynasty was the history of the Turkish race. Books, pamphlets, newspapers, lectures, the wireless, teachers and schools distributed the new current of thought to the masses through a thousand channels. Discussion and commentaries on research work, scientific treatises, newspaper articles awakened a powerful emotion in the populace, made it conscious that it was Turkish and that the nation possessed a unique power. And then Mustapha Kemal could pass on towards the realization of his ideal.

ATATURK

At all times mankind has manifested a deep and sacred awe for the mystery contained in a name.

The Sumerian kings wrote their "sacred names" on the symbols of their deities, adding the warning: "Woe! a thousand times woe to him who dares efface this name!" Names were solemnly bestowed by the Sumerians not only upon their towns and houses, but also upon weapons, domestic utensils and furniture, and every article they valued. Nabu, the "God of all created things" and God of Names, kept an inscription of everything that bore a name.

A deep significance attached to the choice of a name for a human being, for the name signified revelation of the character. Gilgamesh, the great mythical hero of the Sumerians, bore his new name after saving mankind from the Flood.

Sumerians handed this mystic cult of the name down to nearly every nation by means of legends, customs and religious ceremonies, such as christenings and consecrations, name-days, patron saints and festivals. In the sagas *Nomen est omen*—Name is revelation, it is power, it is fate.

Ghazi Mustapha Kemal received a new, a great name from the Turkish people, the most exalted name it was possible to bestow upon him—Ataturk—"Father of the Turks". And he himself changed Kemal into the correct Turkish form of Kamâl, meaning the citadel, the fortress.

Kamâl Ataturk—protector and father of his people.

CHAPTER VI

ANKARA

FROM THE CIRCLE TO THE STRAIGHT LINE—THE OLD TOWN—
THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE AND MUSEUM—STREETS—TRANSITION—YENI-
SHEHIR, THE NEW TOWN—SCHOOLS—SCIENCE AND RESEARCH—
ANCIENT AND MODERN — THE TURKISH WOMAN — ANKARA IS
BUILDING

SINCE October 1923 Ankara has been the capital of Turkey, and from Ankara the old Turkey has been remodelled into modern, New Turkey.

Since that date innumerable questions have been asked and criticisms levelled at the choice. Why Ankara? Was it a passing whim? Was it mere chance? Had it been after deliberate reflection or for some well-considered motive? Were the reasons psychological, political, military? Was it to centralize government and concentrate economic administration? So many different reasons, one and all possible. But perhaps there was another, a deeper, more powerful motive, the determination of nature herself that thus it was to be.

It was at Ankara that the stoic opportunism of the old oriental Ottoman world gave way to the strict logic of the Occident with its reasoning from premise to consequence. It was at Ankara that the great plan had been drafted, discussed and decided upon, and then put into execution. It was again there that experts planned and measured and reckoned the costs for the making of railways and roads, mines and factories, gardens and farms, and Ankara superintended whilst the rails were being hammered into shape, trees grafted, water-supplies provided and fields irrigated.

FROM THE CIRCLE TO THE STRAIGHT LINE

It was at Ankara that the tangential curves and spirals of Turkish energy were transformed into a straight line leading directly towards the desired goal. Was this mere chance or careful calculation? Who knows? Perhaps it could not have been otherwise than at Ankara, for it may well have been that here was the point of Archimedes, the pole of magnetic energy which can change the axis of the world and the centuries in their cycles. Perhaps here was hidden the principle of direction awaiting the moment of release, or it may be that at Ankara, and at Ankara alone, the inertia of the orbit was sensitive to a directive impulse. What, then, is Ankara like?

THE OLD TOWN

Two sharp, rocky, cone-shaped hills dominate the centre of the plain, and between them, like a shackle, winds a watercourse binding them together with its twists and turns and itself enclosed in its narrow bed by rugged, imposing masses. Two greyish-brown cones and slow-moving, greyish-brown water. Narrow winding alleys, paved with cobbles, cross and recross the river over arched stone bridges, twine round these cones in a confused maze, climbing up to the old Seljuk citadel. They penetrate through narrow arched gateways, through breaches in the crumbling walls, and within the precincts of the fortress spread out innumerable small circular open spaces. These old streets seem to have escaped all law of space and time, the past, the present and the future is all one to them. Behind the same iron railing may stand ageless huge Hittite statues side by side with fantastically carved capitals fallen from some Byzantine column, and close by the gateway of the Hadji-Bairam mosque, with its thousands of arabesques, are the ruins of the Augusteum, which preserved in an inscription on its walls the lifework of the great Roman emperor until Mommsen discovered it and gave it to posterity. Piles of steel girders and sacks of cement for structures that will bind the present with the future, lie mixed up with old stone blocks and freestone cubes, the stepping-stones



from prehistoric into modern times. Everywhere one sees what is dead and past lying side by side with what is modern and alive. The dense network of lanes splits up or turns aside and finally, perhaps after many twists and bends, rejoins the original alley to end in some sleepy courtyard before a closed door, or abruptly before a grey, unending wall.

Yet, in all this network of curves and twists there seems nevertheless to be an unconscious presentiment of the modern tendency towards the straight line. It reveals itself in certain angles, often stuck away in corners, but still struggling silently to show itself—breaking up the smooth façades of the houses, cut into the bays of the streets, and manifest in the sharp, rectangular cutting away of the stories of the buildings. It reappears in the crenellations of the citadel walls which frame this hilly eminence with a series of sharp points from the advanced look-out posts to its very summit, and in the massive watch-towers which break up so obviously the sweep of the walls.

But perhaps this impulse towards a straight line is only appearance, an illusion provoked by the play of light and shade which will disappear in the full glare of the sun. Then the stone blocks, the white-washed walls of the houses, the balconies and towers, bridges and roads are fused into a blinding haze, one with the brown of the earth and the grey rock of these twin hills. Over all the heavy heat of the sun weighs down, stifling and motionless, annihilating thought, will and energy before they have crossed the threshold from the unconscious to the conscious. Once more past, present and future seem to be interwoven in the same endless cycle.



In Old Ankara

Yet towards sunset, as the sun's rays sink over the horizon, this rigid oppressiveness seems transformed into motion. Gradually a reddish-golden glow, becoming fuller and richer every moment, filters through the atmosphere, pulsating with life, animating the static grey of the rocks and the heavy brown earth, and spreading over the hills, the citadel and the town. It changes through the whole range of colours from rich red and orange to the softest blue, accompanied, as it were, by an ever more pronounced staccato rhythm of all the angles formed by the balconies, alcoves and gables. The corners of the square towers and the straight lines of the fortress stand out in relief, growing longer and seemingly straighter, and the hills, town and citadel of Ankara emerge triumphantly and sharply silhouetted against the flaming red of the Anatolian sunset horizon. . . . That is old Ankara. . . .

TRANSITION

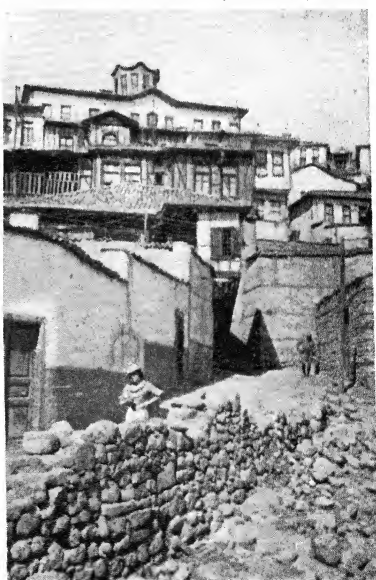
WHEN, after the darkness of a long night, dawn rises over Anatolia, the victory of the straight line is accomplished. This clear light of dawn penetrates the narrow winding alleys and corners, it spreads over ruins and rubbish, filters through holes in

plaster walls, through the oppressive heat of summer and persists in spite of dust, torrid feverish air and scarcity of water. It pervades everything everywhere. It came with those who rallied round Mustapha Kemal, and they had come because he was their leader.

Officers, high officials, diplomats, philosophers, poets, journalists, all the élite of Turkey had left the tranquillity of their houses and villas and gardens by the sea, their fine offices and studios, their wives, families and friends, the settled order of their lives, to follow him.

A few miserable lime-washed rooms, furnished with rough wooden benches and tables, represented their new ministerial offices. Their newspapers were printed in a stable on a few cases of type. They thought and wrote, ate and slept, all huddled together in smoky kitchens and dingy rooms which served as living-room, office and club at the same time. A class-room in the Intermediate School for Agriculture was General Headquarters; the President lived in two rooms in the railway station building. And thus they governed and functioned with him to direct them.

They began to demolish some of the most dilapidated old houses and clear away the ruins. Rubbish and loose blocks of stone were carted away and holes in the plaster walls filled. The swamps were drained and old walls pulled down. Iron girders and cross-bars, smooth squared beams and hard-baked tiles were obtained, and they built the first house with straight lines, with flat façades and perpendicular walls, banishing all curves and twists, and they laid out along straight lines the first new streets of Ankara.



Streets in Old Ankara

More and more of the hovels with their age-bent crumbling framework were demolished, more of the tortuous alleys and sleepy little squares disappeared, more of the meandering paths which wound their way around the slopes of the rocky cone were straightened out. The view over the plain towards the foot of the mountains became freer and wider, making the narrow circle of the ramparts and the old town seem all the more oppressive and provoking a keener desire for open spaces and straight lines. Finally the citadel and hills were left behind as the town developed and the surrounding plains were planned for suitable modern buildings. It was Mustapha Kemal who called the people from the old town to build up this new one on modern lines. In this way was born the new Ankara, the centre of Kamalism.

The new city did not limit itself to the plain, but joined itself to the mountain chains which formed the rim of this vast basin by long asphalted roads that stretched over the fields, giving the effect of a large chessboard as they circled round white blocks of houses and clumps of green foliage. A stretch of grass and green shrubs lies down the middle of these roads, dividing and as it were strengthening the two-way route. The roads wind through public gardens and small parks, past the green hedges of new blocks of buildings and private houses, and unites gardens, buildings, grass borders with the chessboard effect of the mountain slopes into one huge design. Metalled roads, shaded by trees and grass bordered, encircle the slopes of the citadel and join it to the network of gardens and houses of the main thoroughfares. Thus modern Ankara can get a direct view of the heights and the wide, flat plain.

From the escarpment of the rocky bastion at the heart of the town, a block has been cut out to form a raised platform which dominates the whole plain. Here an equestrian statue, resting upon a stone plinth, has been erected, which in spite of its imposing mass seems to be soaring into the sky. It is a monument to the great leader—Kamâl Atatürk.

THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE AND MUSEUM

In the shaping of this rock Ankara has made a symbol for itself and has done honour to the most precious thing the nation

possesses, the proud consciousness of a great and noble history, the happy activity that foretells a happy future, security under the assured protection of their leader. Behind the monument stand two large buildings. Their style of architecture is somewhat elaborate and they might not be considered an ideal background for it, and their names are rather ordinary—a museum and the People's House. Similar buildings with similar names are to be found in many towns and countries, but the real significance of these two edifices is not expressed by their façades, their names nor by the effect they give. It lies in the spirit which built them and which directs their activities.

What is the People's House of Ankara? It contains many things—large rooms for meetings and festivals, a library and reading-rooms, a theatre and gymnasium, statues, paintings, carpets and embroideries, priceless manuscripts, halls for concerts and exhibitions, for conferences, lectures, courses of studies, publications. . . . But all these things count as nothing beside the essential significance of the building—that lies in the fact that it serves as a model for innumerable others to be found in every town and village in Turkey. They are centres, created by the Turkish people, for education and culture, for the development of conceptions of society and nationality, of ethics, duty and patriotism, for the perfecting of economic knowledge and the appreciation of art. All this and more. Each one of them is a powerful focus and centre of radiation for the growing and expanding forces which are binding the nation to their land. That is the significance of the People's House which stands on the rocky base at the heart of Ankara.

What is the Museum? It contains collections of Turkish costumes, domestic utensils, embroideries, weapons, glassware, faïence, the art of the peasant craftsman expressed in wood, metal and stone from the earliest times; everything of a creative nature that has helped to keep open the way from the past to the present. But this Museum means more than that; here are show-cases with tablets inscribed with Hittite cuneiform characters and hieroglyphics, ornaments and decorations; here are halls full of statues of Hittite gods, religious symbols and vases—all linking the Turkish people of to-day with those first Anatolian Turks some twenty centuries before our era. They reveal to modern Turkey

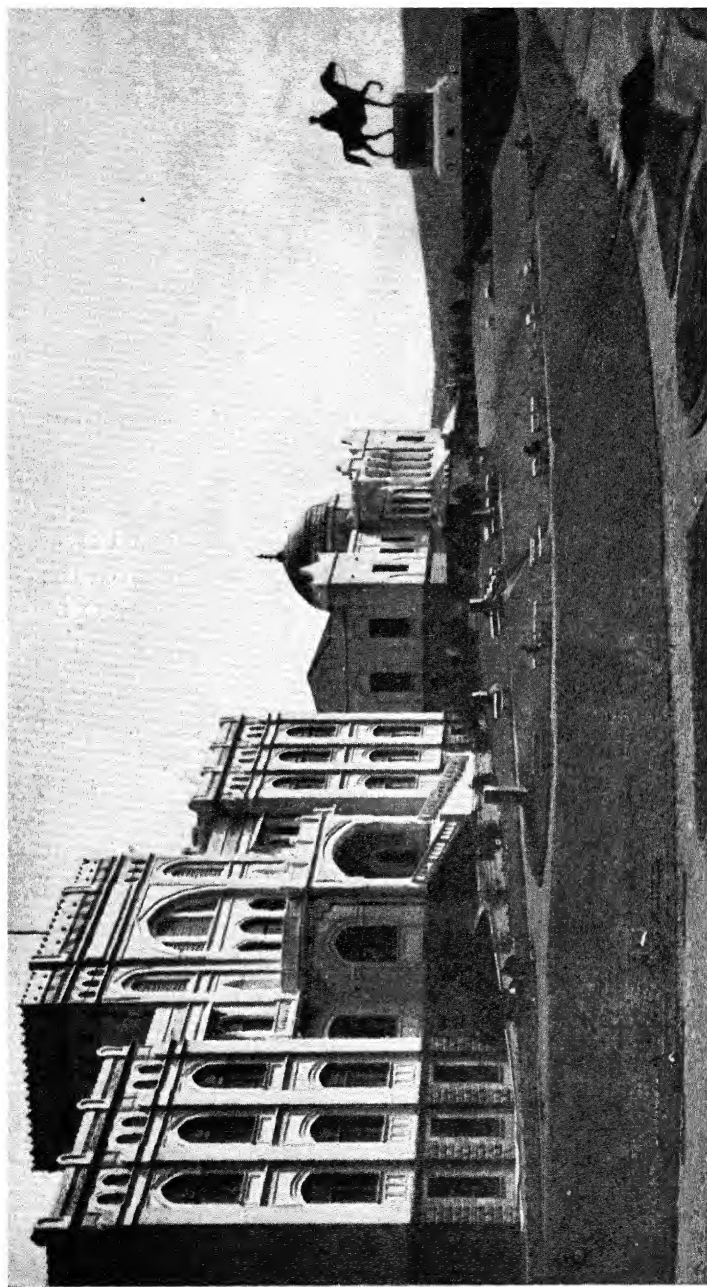
the whole chain of the Anatolian peoples, the Lydians, Phrygians and Celts, and recall to them the power of the Turkish spirit, which has aided both the Orient and the Occident to form and spread civilization over Greece and the Roman Empire, throughout Persia and India. These treasures and their value to learning are much more to them than mere illustrations of their history; from them the nation draws its faith in the newly awakened national consciousness, in itself and its mission, just as the Faithful are inspired by Holy Writ.

Like everything else in Ankara, the Museum is still incomplete, but the idea which inspires it acts as a guide for the whole country. On every side, in all the larger towns, museums are springing up, some important, others of a more modest scope. In Izmir and Adana old disused churches have been thus converted; in Konia, Kaisaria, Afionkarahisar, in Erzinjan and in Diarbekir some of the numerous empty mosques, medresses and dervish monasteries are so used. Each year sees more museums established. Sometimes the building itself is a veritable work of art—such as the Hagia Sofia, the venerable Byzantine church of Santa Sophia.

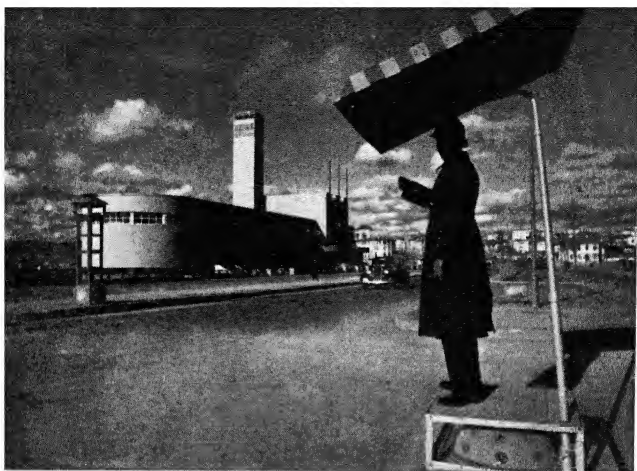
But each of these buildings has a deeper significance still for the people than a mere collection of arts and crafts: they have become symbols, sacred centres at which to venerate the great history of the nation, not by awakening and restoring the past, but by regarding it as a living source of inspiration, revealing with the force of religious dogma the faith of a nation in its glorious and triumphant future. Thus it is that the Museum and the People's House find themselves united at Ankara upon the same rocky terrace, emanating a spirit of renewed confidence and striving for the future throughout the whole of Turkey.

The streets of Ankara, which have been laid down as the arteries of the new capital, reflect the spirit of the times. They are wide and straight. Some of the buildings bordering them show, however, clear signs of a transitional period when all were not as one in their realization of his new spirit.

The fumbings and hesitations of the early days have left their mark on the first bank buildings and government offices, and traces can be seen in the first blocks of flats, houses and shops. Efforts have been made to adapt old Seljuk or Ottoman orna-



The People's House and Museum in Ankara



The Exhibition Pavilion

ment, decorative motifs, roof construction, pillars and arches to the new principles and to effect a compromise between the old obstinate rejection of innovation and the hesitant lack of understanding of its real meaning. The style of architecture demonstrates clearly the early struggles against the old constricting fetters of tradition.

Not all of those who at that time were following the call of Ankara had completely understood its meaning. Many of them had not comprehended that a complete transformation of values was taking place and that the conception of Kamalist Turkey consisted of much more than a mere change of government. There were others who recognized the imperative character of the new movement but had not the capacity to follow it to its logical conclusion without being deflected from their course. Both groups had still much to learn. But everyone else had to learn—officials, business men, employees, artisans and workmen, those who administered the law and the state, finance and trade, industry, mines, railways and shipping. All was new and to be conducted on new lines. Under the old régime all the officials had been foreigners, or foreign interests directed their actions; the big business directors, subordinate employees and clerks were all foreigners, anything and everything was in the hands of

foreigners. The New Turkey was a Turkish state and Turks had to learn new methods and new functions, the duties of a new state service and economy, and to gain experience of the mechanized routine of everyday life and practice. But errors are inevitable in every apprenticeship, they are the price of experience, and it was in those apprentice years that the first buildings of Ankara were erected.

YENI-SHEHIR—NEW TOWN

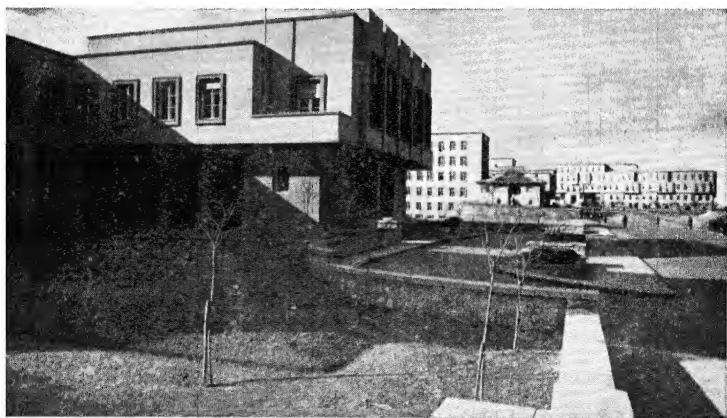
THE farther the roads leave behind the precincts of the old town and stretch away across the plain, the more the houses seem to change their character, and their design becomes bolder and freer. The architecture follows straight lines, solid constructional masses without curves and arabesques, façades without plasterwork ornament or rococo decoration, flat surfaces of reddish-brown Anatolian sandstone and marble. In Yeni-Shehir æsthetic unity has found its values in the organic harmony of material and modern technique and the purpose of architectural construction. Every structure, whether it be a school, hospital, exhibition hall, ministerial offices or institute, is no more than a stone in the vast urban edifice which is being planned with such foresight and on such a large scale. But this is not an object in itself, it is only part of the real aim—the fusion of town and country, the impulse of new times and new aims, of a new generation working along straight, parallel lines over the mountains and plains of Anatolia. This is the idea behind Yeni-Shehir, the young, growing part of Ankara, destined to direct and carry forward the new spirit of Ankara, of Anatolia. This is the first testimonial of that apprenticeship.

The labyrinth of narrow alleys of the citadel and old town, and the sections of the transitional period when the buildings were disfigured by errors and faulty adaptation, are separated from Yeni-Shehir by a wide valley. But this area also is chequered by modern, grass-bordered streets which follow the ancient caravan routes and are now filled with a constant stream of fast motor-buses. Strips of lawn run down the middle, widening at intervals into islands of shrubs and flowers where Hittite stone lions survey all these modern constructions of concrete and asphalt like guardians from the past. A series of public gardens

divides this valley into sections, the future industrial part of the city, with sites for factories, warehouses and shops. The new Ankara marks its boundaries with gardens and verdure.

Public buildings and government offices and a few blocks of flats are distributed among the gardens along the highways, but the principal residential quarter displays its groups of modern, well-planned villas along the slopes facing the Old Town, surrounded with gardens which follow the natural configuration of the land. This is the area for modern Turkish town planning. This new town has its axis, the administrative offices, up on the heights, exactly opposite the Citadel. There the ministerial buildings stand, silhouetted as a compact triangular construction and forming a landmark for the whole plain.

The builders of the New Town of Ankara did not wish merely to build a town, but wanted it to be constructed on firm, solid lines in accordance with the most modern principles of architecture. The best available experts were called upon to design and draw the plans and direct its construction. Foreign experts collaborated, but the actual building was a national work carried out with the labour of the country and at its own expense. The new generation in Turkey was beginning to take hold, to achieve something for itself by its own labour and service. They built schools, hospitals, scientific institutes, government offices in the New Town.



Ministry of Public Works

And whilst some were learning the art of modern building construction, others were studying, at the best modern colleges of both the Old World and the New, such subjects as modern science, technology and economics. Then they returned to their own newly built schools in Ankara, to the administrative offices and banks, filled with the new ideas and prepared to combat the errors made in the transitional period or the compromises of the timid ones.

Ankara, however, was desirous that its intellectual and economic activities should be established upon as solid a basis as the New Town and houses. Again recourse was had to the most competent foreign experts, who examined the country's finances, her commerce and communications, mines, industry and agriculture, gave their opinions and made suggestions. They gave lectures, conducted courses and directed experiments which would be of service to Turkey and assist her aims, and alongside them worked the young Turkish lecturers, the economists and officials of the future, according to the set plan and conscious of their goal. And they were in fact the builders of the new structure of culture and economy. Each day they became more efficient, and grew in numbers and skill, for they were building the new structure of their own culture and economy.

The more the youth of Turkey learned to observe, to compare and to gather the fruits of its own experience of work, the keener they were to note the few out-of-date attempts at compromise or the errors of the transitional period. They exerted themselves to break down the barriers to progress and sweep aside the débris of the dead past so that proper foundations might be made for the new structure. These young, modern Turks, who saw the building of the New Town, realized that Rome was not built in a day, so they built by degrees, stone upon stone, stage by stage, putting theory into practice with that persistence which conviction of success and a strong, powerful inspiration alone can give. Their inspiration was modern Turkey.

A most significant signpost marks the construction of Ankara, that is the schools, for up on the hill which the Citadel crowns stands a modern school. This is a light, airy structure, composed of rectangular surfaces of concrete and glass, which blend and combine with the square towers and walls of the fortress. Other

flat, almost transparent structures stand out from among the tangle of houses on the slopes of the hill, like glistening ribbons binding the old with the new. Schools of all kinds and grades are scattered round the town: big institutes with model lecture-halls, laboratories and collections of exhibits, elementary crafts and trade schools with modest living-quarters attached, some in stylistic examples of detached buildings surrounded by large gardens with sports grounds, or in quite ordinary houses built on the side of the road. But all are new, modern, airy structures.

To-day Ankara lives under the banner of the school, and that is why the first building constructed for scholastic purposes was a training college—the “Ghazi Institute”. It lies on a hill at the edge of the town with an uninterrupted view across the plain and slopes towards the open country.

Ankara wants to educate the youth of Turkey to be modern, practical-minded men, trained to grasp the realities of life and master its difficulties, and therefore it is of primary importance that the teachers should learn this. In the Ghazi Institute the teaching élite is being formed. Young men and women are trained there in all the necessary theory of the various faculties and taught the latest principles of pedagogy. In addition they learn carpentry and joinery, metal-work and modelling, how to build a hut or bind a book, how to make cardboard boxes—everything, in fact, in which the eye and the hand can be employed in some practical way. The equipment and tools are the best and most up-to-date so that the pupils may learn how to apply the latest technique to the best materials, to appreciate perfection and strive after it. But at the same time they learn to make use of whatever is available at the moment and to obtain the best possible results with the simplest tools. They are taught to encourage interest among the simple and primitive part of the population for the great aims and activities of the nation. All this the young, modern teachers who have been trained in the Ghazi Institute will pass on in their turn to the youth of Turkey.

But Ankara knows that no education, even though it be taught by the most ideal of teachers and at the best possible schools, will bear fruit unless it can develop to maturity in the family and the home, and the women of Turkey must learn thoroughly how to appreciate this. Therefore a modern school



The Ismet Inonu Institute

for girls has been built, with a curriculum and equipment carefully thought out for the realization of this purpose. This is the Ismet Inonu Institute. Its wide, flower-bordered frontage flanks the main street and closely adjoins the monument to Kamâl Atatürk on the rocky massive plateau right in the centre of the town. Its gardens mount the slope of this plateau and abut on the lawns and shrubberies which surround the Museum and the People's House.

At the Ismet Inonu Institute the girls are initiated into all branches of modern feminine education: hygiene, infant welfare and kindergarten, housekeeping and home-making, cooking, sewing and millinery, everything they will need to run a modern household in a sensible, practical way. They learn above all that the family and the home are the foundation of society and the State and that Turkey can only take its place in the modern world if the home background is modern and sound. They are taught, in brief, that they are the future wives and mothers of Turkey and theirs is the responsibility to found and carry on the home.

The girls are made to appreciate that the woman of to-day must know in an emergency to rely on herself, and therefore they are taught a suitable trade or profession, according to their

capacity and choice, so that they may assist their husbands to support the burden of a family or provide for their own existence. The institute is forming the modern Turkish woman for New Turkey so that she may be an independent, free individual, capable of fulfilling her duty towards the family and the home, towards society and the state and towards herself.

The object of securing a solid foundation for the young Turkish State and society is so as to build the national economy thereon, not as an aim in itself, but so that all economic activity should serve the nation and its cultural ideals. That is why Ankara seeks to impress the significance of this idea upon the youth of Turkey, since they are destined to develop to its full extent the economic policy which as yet has only been sketched out. For these young economists a Higher School for Commerce has been built on rising ground between the Old and the New Town, where teachers with progressive ideas have arranged courses of studies and employ teaching methods selected from all that is most up-to-date and novel.

The Higher School for Commerce is not the usual type of college where theory only is imparted; it familiarizes its pupils as part of the curriculum with practical experience of the elements



The Higher School for Commerce

of everyday economics. They are made to form and manage among themselves various economic organizations borrowed from real life such as co-operative societies, savings banks, companies for the making of investments and granting of loans, and the negotiation of credits. By means of these organizations taken from real life they take care of their own needs, purchase supplies and print the text of their course of studies. The college is a laboratory for practical economics, giving its students experience of the economic organizations of real life along with educational theory, guiding them in their experiments on a miniature scale to seek out—as it were from the contents of a test tube—the elements of the organism and recognize their noxious reactions and how to counteract them. Their own experience at the college teaches them that each cell of the economic organism of the State is dependent on the rest and can only function properly when the whole mass is in proper working order, in a word, that the real prosperity of any one section depends on the well-being of the whole community.

Many new modern schools have been built in Ankara with a view not only to provide educational establishments for the capital, but as models for a series of similar schools which are to be erected throughout the country, to educate the youth of Anatolia on the same lines and following the same principles as obtain in the capital. Amongst them is one which manifests this creative spirit perhaps more clearly than any of the others—that is the School of Building Construction and Public Works, which was built by the pupils and is continually being extended, enlarged and improved by their efforts.



At the School for Building Construction

It stands on a wide stretch of tableland adjoining the Ghazi Institute and consists of a long row of one-storied buildings, with plain, white-washed walls. Exceedingly simple halls, white-washed also, white-tiled corridors, numerous windows, and everywhere plenty of light. At the rear of the buildings, in the open, beams are cut and planed, planks are mortised, roofs assembled and dismantled, sections of walls in various combinations of bricks with all manner of decorative effects arise, only to disappear the next day. Stairs with various angles and curves are built there up to a height of a few feet from the ground, only to be taken apart, tread by tread, a short while after. Here they build for building's sake.

But towards the end of the school year the pupils build for the school's sake, and as a reward for their year's work. After long and careful consideration plans and sketches are prepared, mortar is finely mixed, girders and beams are laid with the greatest precision, for they are building their own school—new workshops, classrooms, living-rooms, storehouses and depots. In a few years the labour and work of the pupils have extended the school to three times its original size and each year it grows larger.

The school is a symbol for Ankara. It is the basic motif of the town's structure and is copied to-day throughout the whole of Turkey. Ankara has shown that education belongs to the nation and that the nation as a whole must make use of national resources to accomplish its aims. The rigid scholastic education given by a reactionary clergy at the religious establishments under the Ottoman régime has been abolished; matters of faith and doctrine are confined to the ecclesiastical sphere and form no part of the school curriculum. All education is completely secularized, and neither opposes nor supports religion. One faith alone is taught in the schools, faith in the nation.

Instead of the mechanical recitation of the Koran and the learning by heart of theological dogma, the youth of New Turkey hears about scientific progress and research, about the unending change and flux of nature. Lyric verses extolling the divine mercy of the Ottoman dynasty, songs in praise of the sultan's throne, the glory of the House of Osman and the romance of the caliphate are replaced by the epics of the Turkish national revolution, of the imperishable force and sovereign rights of the people.

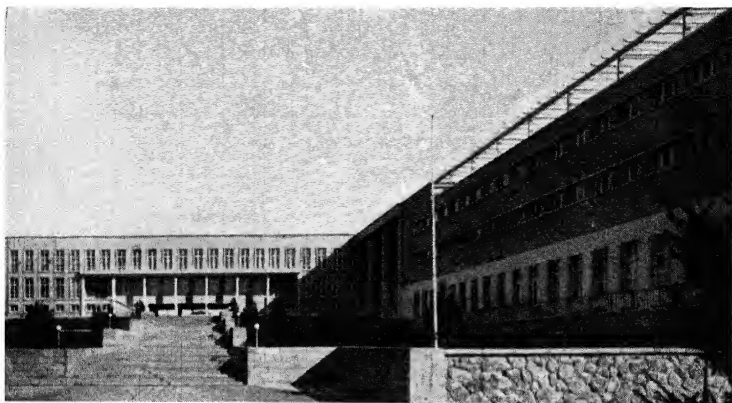
Ankara is making Turkey a land of schools. Education in every subject and grade is free, whether primary, secondary, in technical schools or in colleges. Rich and poor study together—there are no class distinctions—and it is all strictly democratic. The rigid discipline of the sergeant-major has no part in an education which combines practical example with modern methods and modern surroundings. It produces free, self-reliant men, modern citizens of a free republic, conscious of their duties and rights as democrats.

Education for boys and girls is the same in every type of school from the elementary to the highest grade; both sexes have equal access to the same classes, the same work, the same training for the same vocations. They are brought up to be comrades and have the same rights and duties towards society and the State, and later they will think and work side by side, helping one another to accomplish the common purpose of their existence, to build up in common a new civilization.

SCIENCE AND RESEARCH

THE intellectual edifice of the New Turkey is continually expanding, but Ankara not only wants it to be built high, but to have deep-seated foundations, and these shall be supplied by science and research. It desires that everything that concerns Turkish art or that links the destiny of the Turkish people to their country shall be the subject of serious research and its innumerable ramifications explained and understood. It wants Turkish scientists, research-workers and professors to undertake this work and lead the nation along the path of progress until Turkish scholarship shall stand in the first rank of universal knowledge.

Ankara has laid the foundations of the new national science, in the fullest meaning of the term, in the Turkish soil itself, and therefore the first scientific institution to be established was the School for Agriculture. The main problems and research were concerned with the national patrimony, with the study of its fauna and flora and minerals, with its arable land and gardens and forests, with cereals, vegetables and fruits, cotton and tobacco-planting, with horses and cattle. The first questions to be studied dealt with seeds and the sowing of grain, stock-breeding and



The Higher School for Agriculture: The Entrance

raising, ploughing and fertilizers, crops and harvesting. The first piece of research by Turkish scientists were concerned with the soil of Turkey.

The renaissance of national life in Ankara first became manifest in the modest premises, hoary with age, of the Agricultural Intermediate School. The old grey building is still there on the hills to the north of the town, but opposite it a new white city in a verdant setting has risen up: laboratories and technical institutes, lecture halls, collections of exhibits, experimental stations and model stables, dairies, poultry farms, fields laid out as models, veterinary clinics, incinerators, workrooms and a library, accommodation for students, a restaurant, a gymnasium, tennis courts and a riding track. There is a School of Forestry, vegetable plots, lawns, asphalted roads and sandy paths. The long parallel lines of frontage form a contrast with the compact, rectangular plan of the buildings; there is life, animation and the exuberance of youth, but ordered and disciplined and consciously pursuing its aim. This is the Higher School for Agriculture.

It is a world in itself, without walls or visible boundaries, extending over a wide stretch of green hills, vast and free, like science itself, but a world which has dedicated its freedom of research and knowledge to a particular and important science, the welfare of the Turkish peasant. His sons and daughters mainly fill the classrooms and the libraries, carry out experiments

in the laboratories, for they are the lecturers and assistants and future professors. The betterment of the peasant's lot and the soil are the sole reasons for all these activities; his existence is to be improved by the spread of science and the results of research, and it may well follow that the peasant alone will remain living among meadows and gardens, resisting with ease any attempt to take him away from his village, his acres and his woodlands.

The Higher School for Agriculture has not remained the sole centre of modern science which Ankara has created; the plans of the capital city have set aside a large open piece of ground to the south-west and have designated it the University Quarter. It lies like the Higher School on open, elevated ground among the surrounding hills, but is separated from it by the full width of the city. Actual construction has not yet begun, but the activity of professors and students has preceded the work of the architects.

A new Faculty of Law teaches the new, modern legal code upon which republican Turkey has based her State, society and economy. Ankara has broken for ever with the old theocratic despotism and its confusion of antiquated ecclesiastical laws, and taken jurisdiction away from the half-educated, cloistered *ulemas*, *cadis* and *muftis*. All legislation which regulates public administration, family life and marriage, property and contract, constitutional and civil rights, and legal procedure has been codified according to modern legal principles. A modern, up-to-date conception replaces the mediæval content of the law and its old-fashioned ideas on right and justice. The Law School at Ankara is preparing the new lawyers, state officials, judges, advocates and notaries to practise their profession according to modern juridical requirements and in the spirit of the New Turkey.

This Faculty has, however, a still more significant aim. The laws of a nation are living things, ever developing and growing as long as the nation itself lives and grows. Since the earliest days of their history the Turkish people have possessed their own characteristic sense of justice, much older than Islam and the Koran and any theological interpretation, but like the nation itself it had been prevented in the most arbitrary fashion, during the era of the sultan-caliphate, from following the march of human progress, and had been forced to remain static, hemmed in by rigid dogma and tradition. Ankara has got rid of this

restrictive power and upon a framework composed of borrowings from the modern laws of Germany, Switzerland and Italy, the Turkish sense of justice and customary law is building up a legal system which is characteristically Turkish and in conformity with the aims and aspirations of the new State. The new Faculty of Law at Ankara is forming those lawyers who will guide the country through this great legal revolution.

Another faculty awaits a new home in the University Quarter. It also is but lately formed, but special interest lies in its subject and treatment. It deals, to describe it briefly, with everything appertaining to the Turkish language, history and art and their influence upon the speech, history and art of other races and peoples. It is a wide and comprehensive field of study and embraces the most varied branches of knowledge: some of a general nature such as geography, universal history from the earliest times, and the development of art in its most typical periods in Asia and Europe, and classical and modern philology and literature. The more specialist branches are Turcology, that is to say, the history, structure and diffusion of the Turkish language and its relation to other languages, Sumeriology, Hittitology, Indology and Sinology—everything which assists a proper understanding of the Turkish world and the ramifications of its influence throughout the centuries. The whole world is the gainer by the creation of this new branch of science and by the discoveries of modern Turkish research, but the inspiration was primarily intended to benefit the Turkish people. All the young Turks who attend this course and specialize in the various branches will later be research workers and professors, or will explain the new learning in books and in the press. As Turks, they will sense clearly the various forms and influences which the spirit of the race has adopted to establish the nation more securely as a Turkish state, and be ready to explain their studies and research to foreigners. The new Faculty of Historical Philology at Ankara is essential for a profound understanding of Turkish art and aids the nation to recognize its Turkish character, but it has a higher purpose than this, it serves to show the nation its proper place in the world.

A School of Medicine is the third new Faculty for which Ankara is now laying the foundations, beginning, as in every-

thing else, at the practical end—with a hospital. The new hospital has been erected immediately behind the People's House and on the same rocky plateau, and like all the other new buildings, has a wide view across the plain to the open country. Stretches of lawn and groups of young trees frame a rectangular building with wide, white terraces and balconies, equipped with the latest therapeutic apparatus, radiology equipment, and baths, and with up-to-date doctors and nurses, and the whole is organized on modern lines.

In addition there are a number of pavilions built in a simple but suitable style at the end of the woods, surrounded with gardens and foliage. Here are to be found a modern medical institute, laboratories for serological, bacteriological, medico-chemical and pharmacological research, forming together the Central Institute for Hygiene, the nucleus of a future centre for medical research, instruction and advice. Here once more pure science is associated with its practical application, and thousands of phials and bottles of vaccine and serum are tested and analysed, for distribution to the various new sanitary and medical stations, which are assisting Ankara to form a completely healthy nation and combat endemic disease such as malaria, syphilis and



Ministry of Health

trachoma, the sad inheritance of the mediæval régime of Ottoman days.

The hospital at Ankara has set the standard for other model hospitals erected in Diarbekir, Sivas and Erzerum, and for more modest ones in smaller localities, as well as for the setting up of village dispensaries and travelling medical depots. A site at Ankara has already been reserved for a second hospital adjoining the present one, and similar in construction, and for another institute. Thus, systematically and gradually, Ankara is establishing a medical faculty which will comply with the aims of the new régime. Step by step, and stage by stage, the new scientific edifice is rising up, freed from all scholastic abstractions and intolerance, based firmly upon practical exigencies, with strongly built walls, straight lines and proper perspective, and upon a well-considered plan. It is to be an organic part of the structure of a new Turkey.

ANCIENT AND MODERN

ANKARA goes on building the New Town and the New Turkey, independent of outside help, with its own labour and money and for its own purposes; rationally, methodically, suited to the straight lines of its preconceived plan. But through this atmosphere of dynamic energy and purpose can be sensed another vibration. It seems as if the symmetry of line and harmony of form radiate new waves of feeling which thought alone cannot grasp, that crystallize anew all emotion and sensitiveness to seek a new expression in art. It may be that the language of the soul cannot yet be expressed in everyday speech, or perhaps this intensely mechanical age forbids such expression, yet the desire to express the flood of new ideas has already burst through the imprisoning superficiality of calculations, plans and measurements. Up to now it has manifested its awakening in the quest for new words, colours and sounds, but it is not yet consciously aroused. Nevertheless it is a definite, intense desire of concentrated power, the longing for the Turkish renaissance to create a new art form.

It came from the intellectual leaders of the country and was immediately seized upon by the intelligentsia. It has not yet become a popular movement, but it was a spontaneous, obvious

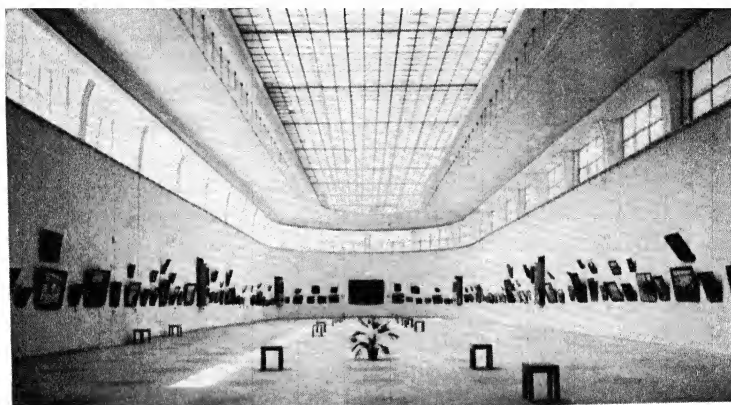
sign of the new age, and its systematic arrangement showed clearly its origin. It is in keeping with the rational constructive planning of the New Turkey, that among all the branches of art Ankara thought first of the one which is so intimately interwoven with the strongest of socially formative influences, both ethically and in the formation of character—music—for the Academy of Music was the first institution which Ankara dedicated to art.

Turkey still sings folk-songs, rooted in antiquity, ballads and simple songs based upon national themes, but up to now it has sung them for Turkish folk alone and they are little known to the outside world. What was generally called Turkish music was not the music of Turkey, but music “à la Turque”—in the Turkish style—the rigid, conventionally artificial Islamic-Arabic music of the court, of religious orders and sects, which had in the course of time come down to the people and weaving its network of technique round the folk-song had completely disguised it. To the sensitive musical ear of a Westerner it is rather a musical curiosity than music; an ecstatic wrestling-match of voices, a duet of two individual melodic phrases executed with the most primitive of instruments, a breath-taking rush of cadences amid twirling tambourines. It is the vocal expression, preserved through countless centuries of the ancient mysticism of numbers, abstract compositions, a whole world apart from modern Occidental music with its harmonies and constantly renewed progress towards technical perfection, and with the force of its appeal to the individual. The Kamalist revolution has brought about the conquest of the old music.

The musical sense of the nation is being directed and stimulated towards a liking for Western music by popular concerts and the wireless, through the People's House and schools. Talented young people, selected from schools, youth associations and the army are taught modern music, grouped into orchestras and choirs and become professional musicians. Folk-songs and ballads are collected, divested of their disguise, harmonized and orchestrated. Efforts are made to train conductors, soloists and composers, to encourage musical talent and tendencies, to set in motion discussion, debates and criticism, and make music a popular topic. In short, a new and lively musical consciousness is being fostered. This methodical, well-planned activity is

designed to give the people a real understanding and love of modern music so that at a later date humanity may benefit by real creative Turkish music.

The art of a nation constitutes an undivided whole, a mirror reflecting at every stage the symmetrical image of the destiny of the men who have created it. Just as the free tuneful melodies and rhythms of the original Turkish music were submerged and fettered by foreign influences, this same power of arbitrary regulation kept rigid and inert the desire for free expression in form and colour. The supreme achievement of all plastic art,



In the Exhibition Gallery

to model and depict the human form, was forbidden the Turkish artist by the long outlived traditions of Arabo-Islamism, and in place of richness of colour and variety of form, and the driving force of fantasy which had animated Turkish painting and sculpture from prehistoric times, he had to content himself with "arabesques".

But the same desire for rebirth which animated Turkish music made itself felt in the fine arts. The will to create a modern people in Turkey caused the restoration of the human form to its proper place in art. The ban of ages was raised, and statues, portraits, allegorical pictures depicting the human form have begun to appear and are stimulating the artistic sense of the

people. Monuments are being erected in Ankara and in all the other Turkish towns in honour of the Leader and the Revolution; portraits, coloured pictures, statuettes and plaques of these same new subjects are to be found in every public department, hall and shop. Popular reviews and books, picture postcards and cinemas serve as a systematic means of diffusing this new psychological outlook. The public has become aroused to take an interest in art.

This renaissance which has taken place in Ankara and spread abroad in Turkey has already brought to light several young artists and set them to seek new modes of expression. This new seed is as yet in the germinating stage and will need for some time to come the careful, efficient attention of a "gardener" and a warm, calm atmosphere before it can blossom and produce fruit; for though art draws its creative power from the vitality of the people whose destiny it shares, it requires time as well as strength to arrive at maturity.

So the new Turkish art will grow harmoniously only if the new Turkish State develops progressively and achieves its destiny. Therefore these artists should not be judged to-day on the degree of perfection they have attained or on the magnitude of their achievement, but on the intensity of their desire to succeed. Measured by this criterion, there are few things which testify more truly and significantly to the new vitality of Ankara than this desire to create a new art.

THE TURKISH WOMAN

RIGHT in the centre of the Town, among business houses and banks, stands a second monument, dedicated to the Leader. Again it is an equestrian figure, but this time not striving forward and clearing the way, as the first one, but composed and restful as befits the guardian of the nation's security. There are three more than life-size figures at the base: two are soldiers in steel helmets, their rifles at the ready, and the third is a woman. This woman's figure is not the customary winged Goddess of Victory draped in a classic tunic with palms or a laurel wreath in her hand—it is that of a woman of everyday life, an Anatolian peasant, serene and steadfast as the Anatolian soil she stands on,

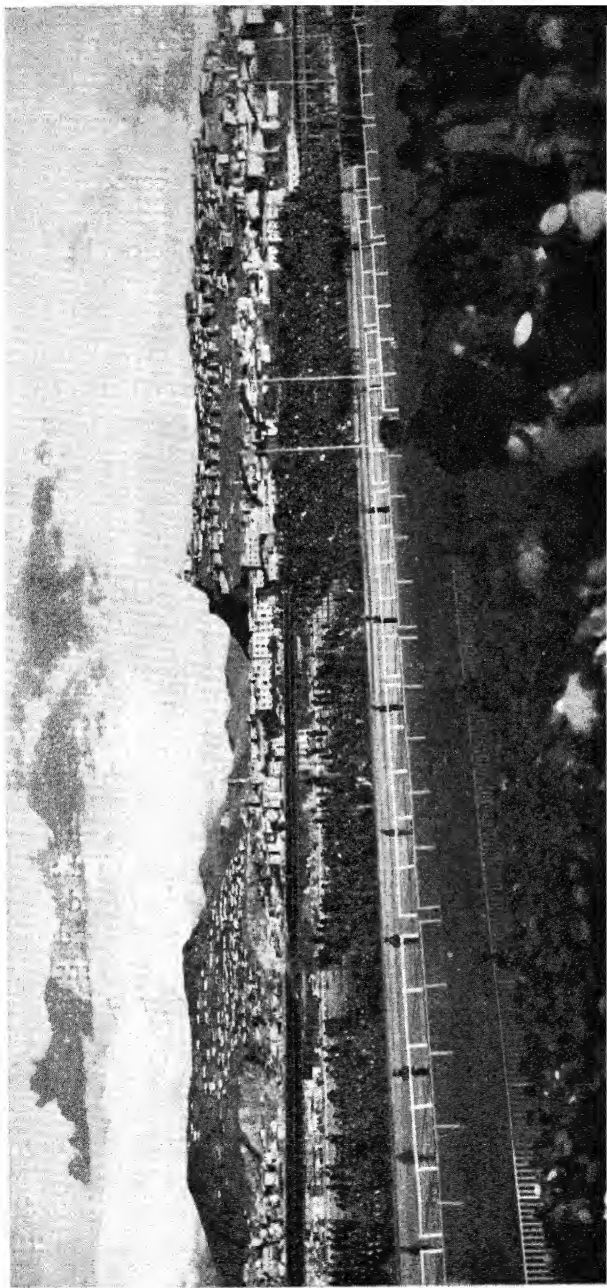
the epitome of controlled strength, slowly advancing and balancing on her shoulders a shell for the front line.

She symbolizes woman throughout the ages of Turkish existence—in the vicissitudes of Turkish history—sharing the burdens of brother and son, bearing arms if necessary to fight alongside them, or occupied with them in the common task. Always tranquil, collected, with firm hands and measured tread, drawing inexhaustible energy from the enduring force of her native land, and always looking steadily forward.

Until the rigid conventions of religious doctrine and the arbitrary fanaticism of a foreign conception of morals had been imposed upon Turkish women, it had never been the custom to screen them behind latticed windows, cover their faces with veils and hinder their progress. That was an inheritance from Byzantium and Islam; it came from the court, passing from town to village, and was used by the clergy to keep a hold on the country and hamlets. They kept the women of Anatolia apart from the world by force, obscuring her eyes and her mind and robbing her of movement and liberty.

Then Ankara called to the women—the country was in danger—they must help in the common fight. And come they did, leaving their villages and driving ox-carts, asses, camels, laden with provisions, arms and ammunition for the front. They carried it on their shoulders when the roads were impassable for wagons and beasts. Always steady and calm, they transported shells and cartridges right up to the front line, where their men-folk, their sons and brothers were fighting. And then, after the country had been liberated, Ankara called the women again to take part alongside their husbands, brothers and sons in the peaceful reconstruction of the State. The lattices were pulled down, the veils torn up, the way was open to them and they shared in the modern houses and schools, took their place in offices and banks, had equal rights with men under the modern laws, and had free access to the new learning, science and art. They were an integral part of Ankara and the New Turkey.

They came, as the men had come, and that, in spite of the apprehensiveness they owed to their former seclusion and ignorance of public life, in spite of the traditional sense of convention and morality which had been bred in them. Old and young, in



Ankara

the villages and towns, learnt to read and write. They attended lectures along with the men, went to classes and concerts in the People's House and took part like the men in national and municipal elections. They were eager that their daughters should receive the same education as their sons. They sent them to the same schools, to schools of every kind and grade.

To-day the activity of the women is closely connected with the whole of Turkish life. There are few functions, public or private, in which she does not take part. She can be a doctor, a judge, a bank director, a ministerial councillor, an artist or a journalist. She reports on special committees, presides at congresses, directs orphanages and interprets history. Whether she be the housewife who carefully reckons every farthing, or the great lady who can converse on politics, literature and art as easily as on society and fashion—Turkish life to-day could no longer exist without her, neither in Ankara nor anywhere else.

The Turkish woman proceeds more quietly, she is more reflective, less impulsive than the man. Perhaps her former seclusion in the tranquil enclosed courtyard, the discreetly restful atmosphere of the home, has given her a keener eye for observing the details which link up the first stages of progress, for she is quicker than he to see the fresh clear water of nearby small streams and does not need to seek out mighty rushing rivers. She prefers her duties to her rights because perhaps in the past she had no choice.

Besides, she has obtained, all at once and with as little effort as one takes to gather ripe fruit, that freedom which the women of Europe have had to acquire by degrees and by hard struggle. She certainly does not appreciate it any the less, and takes a proper interest in it, but there was never a motive, such as the women of Europe had, to put forward frequently exaggerated claims and force themselves to create records in all the new fields of human endeavour so as to give additional support to their next claim.

All this has given the activity of the Turkish woman, and her understanding of the rôle she has to play and the sphere she must influence a characteristic note which it is difficult to define, but which reveals itself distinctly in everything she undertakes. Her calm restraint in the use of her newly acquired freedom leads

her often, and with beneficial results, to moderate the impetuous rhythm of the general advance; her serene acceptance of unpretentious, humble tasks and disregard for the ostentatious and ambitious, prove that she cannot fail to bring about a proper realization of the new conception of Turkey's place in the world.

This characteristic feeling leads the girl student, after she has finished her studies, to choose with eagerness the solitary village as the field of her work, whereas her male colleague usually aims at profitable employment in the capital. Because of that feeling the woman official disregards promotion and grades, so that she may keep in contact with simple folk who are only dimly aware of the new order of things and may assist them on their way. We find the woman doctor voluntarily practising among the poorer classes, and the woman lawyer taking up the humbler cases. Instinctively, whatever may be her status or calling, she seeks to alleviate petty miseries and trouble. This is perhaps the dominant feature of the activities of the emancipated womanhood of Turkey. It may well be that the huge social structure which Ankara is building has found in this feature those small supports, clamps and bolts which will hold together its bulk, make it understood by the masses, and in the process of time give it stability. The women of Turkey will bring an atmosphere of light and repose and interior warmth into the series of halls and rooms with their long parallel lines and flat façades, and transform the new buildings into the modern homes of the nation, and fill them with life and movement. It may well be that this has not been the least of the achievements of modern Ankara.

ANKARA IS BUILDING

EVEN to-day there are many people in Turkey and abroad who still say: "Surely these roads are too wide and too long? There are too many banks and offices, far too many schools and villas! The buildings are too large and pretentious! Why so many monuments and public gardens? Aren't you planning on too large a scale?"

Questions, advice, complaints, criticism, none have been lacking since the day the first stone of the new Ankara was laid, but

the building goes on unhindered, step by step, and stage by stage, following the lines laid down in advance.

Has this plan really been conceived on too vast a scale? Ankara is not building for to-day or to-morrow, it is building for history—for a new, modern nation. Is the task beyond it? Is it too vast and overwhelming? History alone can answer. Meanwhile Ankara goes on building. . . .

CHAPTER VII

TURKISH NATIONAL ECONOMY

THE MEANING OF ECONOMY—OTTOMAN ECONOMY—MACHINERY—
CAPITALISTIC IMPERIALISM — THE NEW ECONOMIC CONCEPTS OF
TURKEY—RAILWAYS—FACTORIES—THE ECONOMIC PLAN—THE TURK-
ISH PEASANT—THE TURKOFIS—NEW BANKS AND NEW FINANCE—THE
MEANING OF TURKISH NATIONAL ECONOMY

FOR the individual as well as for the community economy means much more than production, manufacture and exchange.

Economy embodies the will to live. Life imports a sense of protection, a determination to grow and remain strong, the assembling of natural energy so that the species may be perpetuated and distributed throughout space and time. Economy is the exterior form which this struggle for self-preservation has assumed, on the part of rational human beings.

To menace, oppress or undermine economy means to threaten life itself, it means atrophy and finally death for the individual and the nation. Whole nations have perished because of the destruction of their economic system. The old Ottoman Empire failed to realize this truth, but the New Turkey recognizes its force to the full.

National economy reflects national psychology. Submission to the dispensations of providence, exaggerated self-absorption and introspectiveness tend to keep individuals as well as nations confined to their own narrow circle, forces them to limit their needs, whether intellectual or material, to their own few resources and deprives them of the benefits conferred by reciprocal exchange and harmonious relations with the outside world. Finally the possession of their own property is lost to them,

passing into the hands of those who know how to exert their power in the economic as well as in the intellectual sphere and use it to add to their possessions and further their own power. The inevitable result is that individuals become divided, just like nations, into two unrelated, unequal groups, the greater consisting of those who have no property, the "objects of economy", the lesser the propertied and ruling class, the "subjects of economy". This danger was ignored by the Ottoman Empire, but the New Turkey has comprehended it thoroughly.

The rhythm of national economy is the gauge of the people's dynamic will to live. Life never stands still, it is continually forming atoms and cells into organisms which in turn continually evolve and perfect their own species, and each new life again must always destroy the old imperfect creation. It forces mankind ceaselessly, whether as individuals or communities, to keep pace with it if they wish to survive. The organic will to live created the principle of mechanics, and constructive ideas evolved from it a new form of life—the machine.

Like all created matter the machine has to go on developing and creating in accordance with its vital instinct; the concept of the machine is inimical to all anterior concepts, and its products suppress and supersede the thoughts and products of all preceding concepts. Men who know how to master this force make slaves of those who do not. The only means of surviving and withstanding the economy of the machine is a strong, vital, imperative desire for constant progress. The Ottoman Empire did not recognize this further truth, but the New Turkey has understood it.

The aim of economy is to be a reflex of the purposes of existence. As long as there is life, force will stand beside impotence, out of the past will come the present, and the new will always be the enemy of the old. As long as men live the majority of them, individually or collectively, will prefer their own advantage, however insignificant it may be, to the great lasting advantage of the whole community. A modern rational human being in his fight for existence may only understand the means and not the end, yet he will recognize in the changing conflict of everyday life the same fixed leading principle: production, manufacture, exchange—that is to say, economy.

The modern social order, the modern nation, is striving to achieve the greatest possible perfection in the life of the individual as in that of the community. With this aim in view every means is being used which the national application of systematically thought-out plans can produce to link up, by the shortest possible route, the two logical poles: the abstract and the concrete, universal knowledge and national practical experience. Economy is the axis of this system—national prosperity revolves round it like a fly-wheel; it gives the impulse to the ethics, art and culture of the nation and operates the political levers. Its tempo regulates the tempo of national progress. But normal, efficient functioning of this complicated mechanism needs one thing—organization.

Like all living organisms a planned economic system lives, thrives and produces results in accordance with organic laws. All its innumerable atoms and cells have to carry out their functions in obedience to a higher order. They give life to the whole and live by it. They can transform themselves, change their grouping, but none of them, either separately or in groups, can acquire domination over the other. Each change of place, each re-grouping must be the result of organic change and not force, never un-anticipated nor against order and reason. But change and re-grouping of parts or of the whole means development and progress. Life is never retrogressive, for



The Flower of the Banana

“atomization”—the disintegration into separate cells means death, and this applies to the molecule as well as to the cosmos, to the individual and to society, to national economy and the State.

New Turkey wants progress, in the conduct of her daily existence and in culture, in science and art, in technology and ethics. She wants, with all the dynamic strength of her national vitality to embed it deep down in the Turkish soil so that it may pervade the entire people and produce an harmonious, organically independent growth. And Turkey has planned her national economy on these lines.

OTTOMAN ECONOMY

THE structure, characteristic features and tendencies of Ottoman economy were of foreign inspiration; the fundamental principle of the new plan is to make the national economy Turkish and keep it so. Neither foreign doctrines and theories, nor foreign models have been followed; the whole and every part has been considered, constructed and animated by the national concept. The organism of Turkish economy to-day bears no analogy with foreign systems, neither in part nor as a whole. Its concept, essence and aims are consciously and exclusively national.

Under the Ottoman régime, of the three economic elements—production, manufacture and exchange—only one was really Turkish, the essentially productive work of the peasant without which neither life nor an economic system could exist. This broad, solid basis of the economic pyramid rested heavily, and solely on the shoulders of the Turkish people. All the rest was foreign.

Syrians, Armenians and Greeks held a monopoly of industry. Almost without an exception under the Ottoman economic system, the whole of the raw material of Turkey was turned into manufactured goods in foreign workshops and craftsmen's ateliers, and handled by foreigners; only what the peasant made in his own home with the modest resources and tools at his command, and for his own humble necessities, was Turkish. Turkish home industry, sometimes artistic, sometimes primitive, crude implements, sometimes tasteful, ingenious ornaments—made without thought of sale and profit or as a means of livelihood—

this activity existed, but it was in no sense an industry.

Trade was completely in the hands of Syrians, Greeks and Armenians. The Turkish peasant sold them his grain and cattle, his cotton, tobacco, raisins and figs, oranges and hazel nuts—anything he had was sold to foreigners, and from them he had to buy whatever he needed in the way of materials, leather and tools, for foreigners alone dealt in them. The only real Turkish exchange was restricted to barter between neighbours in the closed economy of the village, and that was carried on to satisfy the needs of the moment and without thought of trade and profit. Everything else went out from him and came back to him through the hands of foreigners; trade belonged to them and their profits were derived from the toil of the labourer.

The peasant lived a dull, laborious existence between his field and his barn and sheepfold. Buffalo-carts, camels and pack-horses connected him with the outside world along the few badly kept roads, which were nothing but stones, holes and dust in summer and muddy streams in winter. These roads, however, brought profits to foreigners; tiny ones for the small Syrian or Armenian traders, who acted as intermediaries between the peasants and the shopkeepers of the bazaars in the smaller towns; larger profits for the enterprising contractor who knew how to link up with the docks and counting-houses of Greek and Levantine exporters. Profits increased rapidly as soon as the produce of the Anatolian peasant had definitely left his land for Constantinople, to be exchanged against bills of lading, consignment notes and warrants

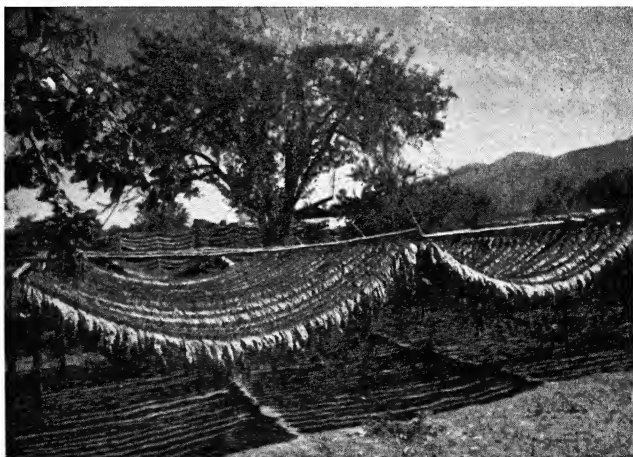


Melons

in the offices of agents and the branch-houses of firms with famous names, English, German and French names which were never even heard of in the Anatolian villages and which the Anatolian peasant would not have recognized had he heard or seen them.

It was, however, these firms which, from London, Paris or Berlin, controlled and directed his life and work. Their calculations determined what he should sow and breed and in what quantities. Their exchanges regulated the value of his crops and cattle. They imported into the country whatever the peasant needed in the way of textiles and thread, glass and paper, tinned food and sugar—all manufactured in English, German and French factories. They and those same Levantine, Greek and Armenian commission agents and middlemen fixed the prices and profits which the Anatolian peasant had to pay. They were the masters of Ottoman economy and dominated every market from the village to the bazaars in the towns, the ports, docks and warehouses.

Behind them were the powerful European financial houses of London, Paris and Berlin with their branches and affiliated concerns. They directed all the trading firms, controlled all imports and exports, and financed all buying and selling. Their brokers



Tobacco

and agents discounted bills in the large counting-houses of the ports as well as in the bazaars of the smallest town. But interest, brokerage and commission had to be borne by the peasant in the high prices he paid for goods. It was he who secured their profits, yet they all went abroad to London, Paris, Berlin. There also went the savings deposits of the Syrian tradesmen, and the cash balances of the big Armenian, Greek and Levantine merchants. All the profits of the Ottoman economy went the same way.

And what of the Turkish peasant? He tilled the soil, drove his cattle to pasture, joyless, hopeless, bowed to the earth, awaiting submissively the dispensations of providence as he had been taught to do by the *caliph*, the *mufti* and the *hodja*. He paid foreign traders, middlemen and bankers their profits, and in addition taxes to the padishah—more if the year had been a good one and the harvest abundant, less if Allah, the sun or the rain had decided otherwise. In any case, however he might have sown and garnered, whether he paid little or much in taxes, what remained was always the same, just enough to keep him from starving. Little by little all ambition, all purpose and pleasure in life died away.

MACHINERY

ALL the same the economic mechanism of the Ottoman Empire continued to function, though first and foremost for the benefit of foreigners. These foreign interests were the very reason for its maintenance, and they prevented its cessation. It functioned slowly, it is true, but not for want of ability on the part of the Turks or for lack of desire for work, for throughout their history the Turk has always shown himself capable and industrious. The system did not move faster because it was to the advantage of foreigners that it should not do so; functioning slowly, it was more easily and profitably controlled. Foreign influence had timed it to the tempo of manual labour.

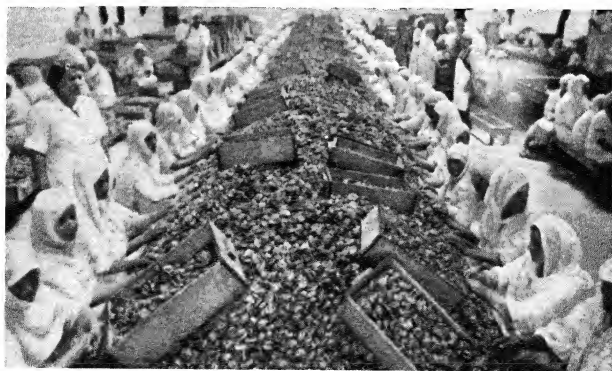
England, France and Germany had machinery. There the concept of the machine held sway in the realms of economy, philosophy and politics and extended its influence ever farther eastwards, over the whole of Europe, and with the introduction of electricity it became the new conquering world power. The

Turkish Empire had been a world power, but the Ottoman sultan-caliphs had petrified its living forces and given them the rigidity of doctrine. They had changed them into fatalism, clerical intolerance, the dispensations of providence. But doctrine cannot fight power, power must be pitted against power. Thus the Ottoman economy fell under the bondage of the European economy of the machine.

The tribute which the machine exacted was labour—manual labour, perfecting what it could accomplish at the dictates of the machine. It supplied raw materials for the factories, coal and minerals, every kind of timber, cotton, wool, hides, the most varied materials for the different industries according to demand, and cheaply, at the low rate of wages paid for manual labour.

Cheapness of supplies is essential for machine production where competition is open and keen. The result was that the products of European factories found a ready open market in the Ottoman Empire, as it does under any economic system which lacks the vital essentials for industrial prosperity—its own industries and control of trade.

But the tribute exacted under Ottoman economy was more than this. Quite apart from any question of manual labour, concessions and enclaves were made of specially productive mines so that cheap raw material and fuel might be made available. Certain railway and steamship lines were controlled by foreigners



Figs



Raisins

so that the marketing of mass production might be speeded up, and individual electricity undertakings and small factories were allowed to make certain of their profits by being permitted to fix purely arbitrary prices. But the mines, railways and steamships, the factories and electric current only operated when and where and in such manner as the industries of Europe pleased, for their profit and under their exclusive control.

Foreign dominance in the Ottoman Empire sought not merely for a temporary control, but to establish itself firmly and permanently. That necessitated in addition to the control over goods and labour, domination in the field of economic thought, and it seized upon this with steely, mechanical exactitude. The precision and logic of the Western economic system were so impressed upon Turkey that the conviction of its supremacy penetrated every mind, and with such suggestive force that it stifled at birth any resistance. Eventually this pressure gave the Turks a kind of inferiority complex with regard to native initiative in industry, and the thought of creating their own factories and mechanical undertakings was regarded as a delusion.

IN spite of their restless driving power and tireless activity machines are but tools, matter bound to the soil and dependent on it for the supply of raw material. Matter is never more than an instrument at the service of the mind. Europe's industries, trade and financial system in their apparently unending domination of Ottoman economy, were themselves only the servants of a superior order. The real master was the all-powerful new spirit which filled and animated the whole economic system of the Occident, imposing a limitless, irresistible domination far beyond its own borders with complete disregard for the feelings of others. That was, to put it shortly, the imperialistic spirit of European capitalism.

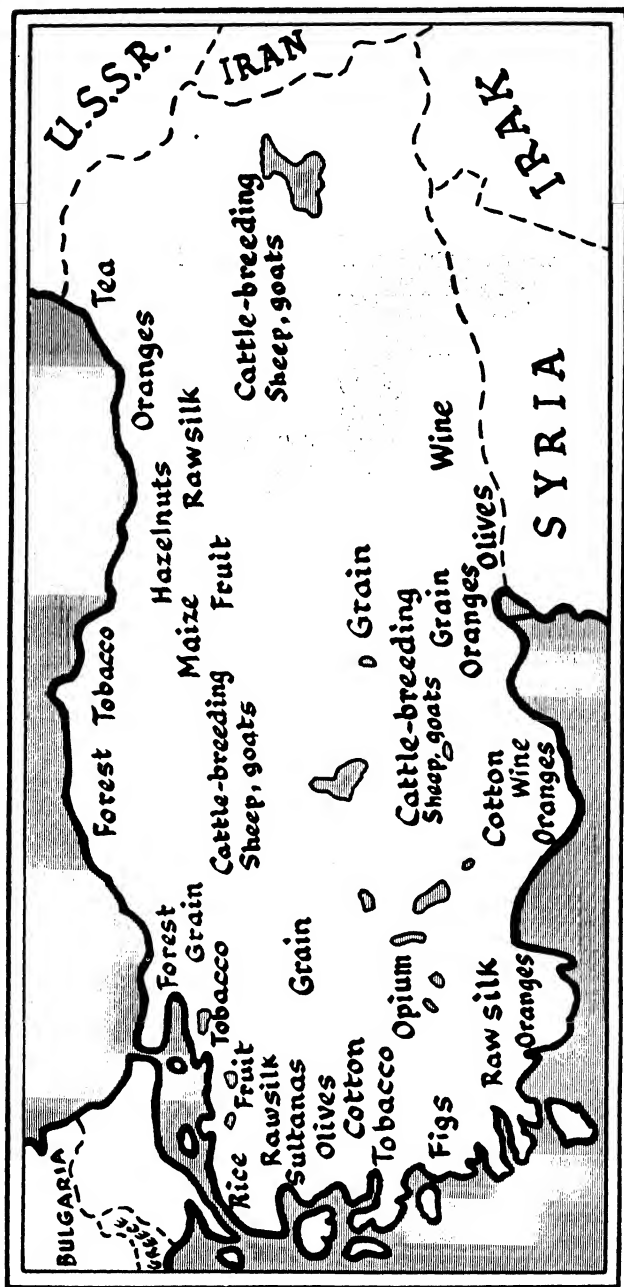
It was created in Europe, the offspring of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the French Revolution, nurtured and brought to man's estate on the doctrines of the Manchester school of economic liberalism. Europe had voluntarily sacrificed all its ancient culture, all its departed splendours to it and grew in strength alongside it. The science, technology and art of Europe were but continuously changing phases and forms of expression of this growing influence, which evoked ever-increasing activity and demanded ever new and larger fields to conquer. They were as much parts of her functions and form as the banking-houses, the industrial cartels and trusts and the politics of imperialism. The sultans and caliphs whose view was limited to the extent of their throne, saw the collapse of the old system into dust and ruins and only feared lest they might be buried under it. They were quite incapable of realizing the irresistible forward thrust of this movement, which seized hold of all those who refused to follow it voluntarily and trampled on them. They foresaw a usurpation and tried to defend themselves against it, but as they had failed completely to diagnose the disease, they could only treat what appeared to them as symptoms. They hoped to exorcise this menacing new spirit in the name of the old dynastic traditions by personal despotism, religious texts and ecclesiastical law. They tried—superficially—liberal reforms alternating with autocratic reaction. They attempted to temporize by making

concessions which had to be wrested from them bit by bit. By guile or by force they tried to close their empire as tightly as possible to the spirit of Europe. But it took by storm reaction and reform, conquered tradition and clerical opposition, and triumphed over every obstacle of space and time, men and matter. It forced capitulation where there was no voluntary surrender.

It broke up the Ottoman Empire and completely upset the ancient order of things, just as it had done in Europe, but here more violently and harshly, for it encountered resistance and friction. Abstract terms replaced goods and wares—all for the benefit of Europe. What did sultan, caliph, tradition, Ottoman economy mean to them? They did not trouble about the bazaars with their bargaining and haggling over sacks of wheat, bales of cotton and barrels of olives—their exchange business terms, their standard numbers and types, their telegraphic market reports had turned these things into endless disembodied book-entries with a credit-balance in favour of Europe. The money-changers and small bankers were left untouched, but bull and bear operations in bonds, stocks and shares by the joint stock banks drained their gold and silver into the safes of the issuing houses of Europe. Pious family customs and laws, their traditional Arabic writing and texts from the Koran were left them, but morality and business were “secularized” and telegraphy and the dictaphone outdid the glamour of the East and made a credit balance in the bank-books of Europe.

This crusade—perhaps the most savage of all—between the economic systems of two worlds was but a stage in the age-long conflict between two opposed centres of power, the Occident and the Orient. The attack was not directed specifically against the Ottoman sultan-caliph and his empire—they were only victims. But this Empire had to succumb because its one cherished state concept, dynastic rule, had lost all force and reason and was no longer of value or able to live. There was one thing that could have been saved if this new spirit and driving force had been seized upon as Europe had grasped them—Turkish economy. Quite independently of dynasty and empire it could have fulfilled Turkey’s imperative and vital mission of coupling East and West and making them one harmonious whole.

It might well have been that the Turkish concept in the sphere



Agricultural Products of Anatolia



A Grove of Pistachio Trees

of economy, as in so many others, could have given the necessary counter-vibrations for harmonizing into one universal tone the whole structure of human progress, by acting as the link between the dynamic expansive capitalism of the West with its negation of time and space, with its tendency towards the impersonal, and the static disposition of the East with its profound belief in the individual . . . the East with its crystallization into rest and composure of all movement, and restlessness in space and the disturbing flow of time. Perhaps Turkish energy might have formed from the opposed dynamic and static views of life and economic concepts of West and East a mechanism of production, manufacture and exchange which would have given a new rhythm to human progress. But the narrowness of the Ottoman ideology had no room for it. It may perhaps form part of the preconceived plan on which the New Turkey is erecting a new historical structure.

THE NEW ECONOMIC CONCEPTS OF TURKEY

LITTLE of productive value has been found by the new Turkish economy in its Ottoman inheritance. But there is one thing, inexhaustible in its abundance and variety which even the extrava-

gance and stupidity of the sultans could not impair—Anatolia. Anatolia with its wooded mountains and well-watered fertile valleys, with its vast, boundless grassy tablelands, its green gorges and steep alpine meadows; the rich, heavy loam of the fields, the firm clay dried and cracked by the sun alternating with loose sand, the stony terraces of the coast lying wide open to the sun and thirsting for rain, and the moist, luxuriant strips of alluvial land. Anatolia, whose colours and climate range from those of Sicily to Scandinavia, from the source of the Rhine to the mouth of the Danube; which can provide for the shepherd, the fisherman and the peasant, which produces an abundant variety of the best kinds of wheat, maize, rice, grapes and fruit, oranges, figs, almonds, hazel nuts, cotton and tobacco, and even opium. Anatolia, which holds in its depths coal and oil, copper and iron, mercury, tin, chrome and manganese, meerschaum and emery, riches whose full extent is not yet known. Anatolia, which could offer well-being to many times its population of seventeen millions. That inestimable and imperishable treasure secured to the Turkish people as an inviolable possession on the day the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, that is the sole legacy of the Ottoman régime.

Anatolia knew full well that only intensive, organized work could turn this land and its hidden wealth into a profitable possession for the future, but it was confident in its Leader and in its own powers, and as soon as it was assured that the fruits of its labour would remain its own inviolable property, it willingly suffered privations and arduous toil, without question or complaint, as it had done during the struggle for liberty. And it continues to bear the burdens of poverty, taxation and hard work, convinced that a newer, brighter future awaits the next generation, if not this, and that it will enjoy all that has been won by this laborious struggle.

Turkey carefully avoids everything that might endanger this future she has planned and bring back foreign hegemony. She is wary of employing foreign capital and credit in administrative as well as in economic enterprises, lest they might open the smallest loophole to foreign imperialism. She refuses to have banks and railways controlled by foreigners, and is buying back whatever is still in their hands. The same applies to the mines,

industry and commerce. All new enterprises must be under Turkish management. There are no longer foreign traders, money-changers, brokers or commission agents, either on the Exchange or in the bazaars, operating in a large or a small way, and the same applies to trade and industry, to officials and personnel, and foreign workmen. This is not chauvinism, the foreigner is not hated, but Turkey desires to safeguard her economic system and ensure its truly national character for the future.

Turkey knew the work of a decade could not make up for centuries of deficiency. She had much to learn and errors and mistakes were inevitable, but she was not afraid of them, for she knew that they were all part of the lesson. She did, however, want to reduce them to a minimum and proceed as rapidly and completely as possible, and therefore she called upon foreign experts to collaborate, indicating her plans and aims to them and accepting from them advice and help in the difficulties and obstacles which she thought she would encounter, and where specialist knowledge was essential.

Turkey did all the criticizing now. She chose what she wanted, joined one scheme to another or split it up, added to it or curtailed it, widened or restricted it, altered it consciously or instinctively. The result of all this was the creation of an economic system of production, manufacture and exchange which was completely modern and essentially Turkish, and which had the unique characteristic of uniting the economic concepts of the East and the West.

RAILWAYS

THE new Turkish economic system had aimed at this great union from the start, but as it dwelt only with realities it occupied itself first with the unity of Turkey and the linking up of all the vast spaces of Anatolia. Gorges and valleys, rivers and swamps had to be bridged or drained, passes cut in the mountains and the steppes to be overcome. The coasts had to be linked with the interior, the high tablelands with the sea. Corn and cattle had to be transported from the fertile fields to the distant border towns, ore from the mountain districts to the ports, coal from

remote mines for distribution all over the country. The first constructive work of the new Turkish economy was devoted to the railways.

Anatolia already possessed in Ottoman times a railway system of about 2,300 miles which had taken seventy years to construct at an average rate of thirty miles a year, and it had been a stake in the game of political influence which French, English and German concession-hunters were playing, and once it had been won it had been divided between them. It served the frequently competitive but always imperialistic interests of the Great Powers—the English were interested in the overland route to India starting from Smyrna, the French in colonial expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Germans always wanted to press farther east. The interests of Anatolia were never considered for

a moment. It had one other purpose—it helped foreign merchants carry Anatolian goods to foreign ships in the way most profitable to them, but not in order to build up Anatolian prosperity. The centre, north and east remained without railway communication and isolated both economically and culturally, their sole means of transport being camel caravans or ox-carts until the new Turkish State began the construction of railways, and then at a rate of a hundred and thirty miles a year.

The first new line ran through the centre of Anatolia, from Ankara to



Zonguldak

Kaiseria and thence to Sivas: from the centre to the north coast—Sivas to Samsun: to the south from Kaiseria to Ulukishla: to the east from Sivas to Malatia, and then south again to Fevzi-pasha, making a second outlet from the interior to the Mediterranean port of Mersin. A further line went from the centre to the Black Sea—Ankara to Filios and then to the west, and a second connection was made with the port of Izmir by linking Kutahia and Balikesir, while to the east a line was made between Malatia and Ergani and continued to Diarbekir.

A good deal of further work then under construction is now in process of completion, and the plans of yesterday are now under way. These lines run from Sivas to Erzingan and thence to Erzerum: from east to north—Erzerum to Trabzon: farther east, from Malatia to Van: from the centre south—Afion to Antalia, making a third outlet to the Mediterranean: and a third link with the Black Sea has been made via Inebolu. A coastal line from the coal-mining districts runs east to Eregli and west to the main port—Flios: and a second line to the west coast connecting Balikesir and Chanakale. Later, perhaps, a track may be laid from Van to the Persian frontier in the direction of Tabriz, and from Diarbekir towards Irak in the direction of Mosul. These are the new Anatolian railways. . . .

They are still far from sufficient for the country's needs. More transverse and branch lines are required, and in spite of intensive constructional work this want will be felt for a considerable time to come, for every new line seems to call for more new branch lines.

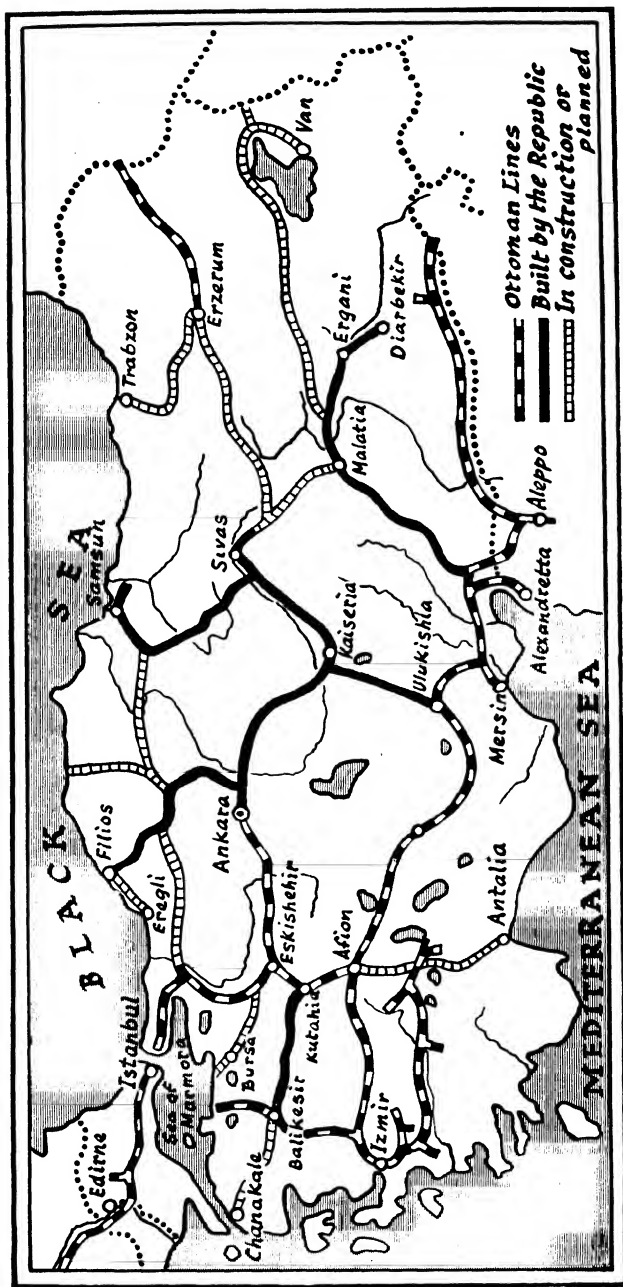
Road building has not been neglected. Some thousand miles of new roads a year is the average, apart from the repair of old ones, repairs which practically always mean a complete reconstruction of the highway. But all this is not enough, for in Anatolia perhaps more than anywhere else new railways and roads mean the creation of a new country. Land which had been allowed to go to waste, because lack of communications made it impossible to get in touch with a possible purchaser for the crops it could bear, is now being cultivated. Forests up to now left untouched are being chopped down, cut up into logs and sawed into planks; in mines left long to decay hauling has started again, and factories and industrial plant are springing up in the very desert.

Along the steel track seems to run a rejuvenating stream into the body economic, and a new spirit, the spirit of the machine and the new Turkish economy, seems to emanate from it and permeate the land. Camel caravans and ox-wagons are disappearing, not all at once, for the tread of caravan leaders and oxen is slow and they have trodden deep tracks, but alongside the railway lines huts of crumbling baked clay bricks are being replaced by new concrete houses, and new villages and towns are springing up complete with garages and petrol stations where once the old caravanserais alone existed. A new rhythm is uniting in the most harmonious fashion economic consciousness and trade, the emotions and aspirations of the Turkish people, and reanimating everything in Anatolia which years of stagnation and inertia had left forsaken and unproductive.

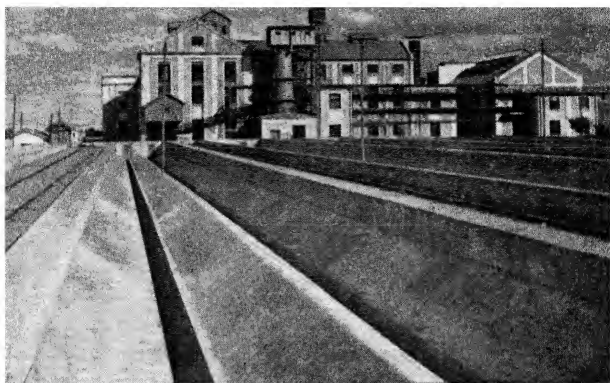
This work of construction is not always easy, and very often it is confronted with difficult technical and financial problems; nevertheless it is going ahead, year by year, according to a progressively staged plan. In the beginning foreign assistance was called upon in technical matters—Swedish, Danish, Austrian and German experts helped Turkish engineers to plan and construct, but to-day foreign collaboration has been dispensed with. To finance these projects there was never recourse to foreign capital, for Turkish railways, like everything else in New Turkey, must not be hampered by restrictive concessions and privileges to foreigners; they shall remain an undiminished possession completely under national control. Therefore the old Ottoman concessions have been liquidated and the new lines constructed with purely Turkish funds, either from revenue or national savings, and not a penny of foreign credit has been used.

FACTORIES

EACH yard of new railway track, each sleeper laid down means the dislodging of another piece of the old Ottoman economy and the disappearance of its distrust of machinery and technology. The steel network of the new railways is bringing about the creation of industry in the new Turkey. The few factories which formerly existed in Anatolia are rapidly being transferred to Turkish ownership. More and more frequently enterprising



Sketch Map of the Turkish State Railways



The Sugar Factory at Uşak

contractors are buying motors and beginning to install machinery, and the tempo of manual labour is steadily giving way to that of engine revolutions and mechanical power.

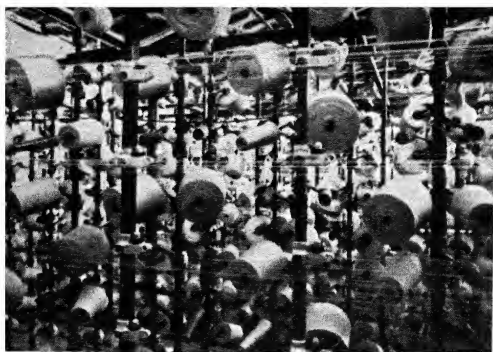
The new industrial concerns—the contractors who supplied the machinery which they hoped would give a new impulse and rhythm to Turkey—expected consideration and protection from the controllers of the State economic system, and they were not disappointed. From the beginning industry found government support and encouragement: sites on government land were leased on advantageous terms, taxes and transport rates were reduced, customs concessions were made on exports, and premiums and precedence given to government contracts. Industry grew and thrived. During the first ten years the number of undertakings increased to a thousand, but they remained inorganic growths, without solid foundation in the soil of national economy.

The real spirit of industry was lacking. Practically none of the owners of these industrial undertakings had a proper comprehension of the functions of industry in the harmoniously working cycle of national production, manufacture and exchange. They regarded their enterprises as State-protected sources of easy profit, and practically none of them realized that the right to profits bore with it a corresponding duty—the duty to serve the economic whole. Their undertakings were usually begun on a small scale and they rarely showed the ambition to extend them.

Their idea of manufacture was seldom more than the finishing of foreign products or the superficial transformation of semi-finished or completed goods by re-packing, refilling or by a rearrangement of sizes.

They had neither the capacity nor the desire for the really worth-while task of fostering national industrial activity, that is to say the manufacture of Turkish raw materials into goods in accordance with a system that ensures their consumption forming part of the national economy. Knowing they were protected, their industrial initiative went no further than seeing that their own immediate profits were assured. Their motive was not the production of goods, but investment and the securing of ever-increasing profits at the expense of low wages, long hours of work and cheap, out-of-date machinery. There was almost a complete lack of any rational plan of action which would have fitted effectively into the general scheme.

The use of dynamos and turbines in such a system could never lead to emancipation from foreign economic hegemony. In spite of the new "factories", Turkish raw materials continued to be exported at the former low prices, which sank lower and lower as world market prices declined, and these exports dropped as the general crisis caused a world shrinkage in industrial production. This entailed a further diminution in the earnings of the peasant, and his already humble standard of living was gravely menaced. Yet still the products of foreign factories—some of them perhaps in Turkish wrappings—continued to determine wholesale prices and prices generally, and with them the standard of life and all plans for the development and progress of the Turkish peasant. There were, it is true, here and there, a few large model factories equipped with the latest, most efficient machinery and applying modern rational methods to production and management. These were big, mass-production undertakings, highly capitalized, which combined planned, systematic, efficient methods of production with a capacity for widespread commercial combination. Their production corresponded exactly to the vital needs of economic demand and represented an ideal of industrial organization—the utilization of the country's raw material in an economic process which started in the fields and ended in the retail shop.



Spindles

They understood the economic situation of Turkey and its essential factors—a market closed by prohibitive tariffs, the depreciated prices of raw materials and cost of labour—and used them systematically to their own advantage and in accordance with the systematic methods of capitalism. They bought from the peasant the produce of his labour at the lowest current world prices; their modern machines provided work for those without land to till, but at the lowest possible wages; they supplied the consumers with their indispensable products at the high prices consequent on protective tariffs. They enjoyed a *de facto* monopoly and took full advantage of it, just as they did from the leasing of government land for sites, tax reductions, low transport rates, premiums and preference. But wages, the standard of life, the whole creative part and economic level of the nation derived no benefit from their activities. It was the menace of local exploitation replacing the domination of foreign machinery.

This retrograde economic movement occupied the same period as the transitional stage in the construction of the New Ankara, when fumbling and hesitation can be traced in the indefinite, over-decorated style of the buildings. Neither the big nor the small industrial undertakings, in spite of their pistons, levers and gear wheels, had yet been able to grasp the true meaning of the epoch. They were still imbued with the purely ego-centric, liberal ideas of unlimited profits, and had no conception

of the new ideological orientation and the new spirit which had begun to transform the State, society and economy of New Turkey. To "spiritualize" their conception of the spirit of economy would have taken time and endless detours, but delay and roundabout methods were not in conformity with the new spirit of Turkey.

THE ECONOMIC PLAN

THE first to notice this disharmony were those who, in the early years of the construction of the New Ankara, had studied modern science, technology and economics at the up-to-date colleges of the Old and the New Worlds and were devoting all their enthusiasm and knowledge to the practical application of theory in their own government departments, educational institutions and banks by the shortest route and with the most efficient methods. They wanted to see the Turkish economy freed, spiritually and materially, from all foreign ideas and models, conducted on purely Turkish lines with purely Turkish aims, but new and modern. In the economic sphere, as in every other in the New Turkey, they followed the most direct route to reach their goal and used the quickest means.

Their ways, methods and means formed an harmonious whole. They wanted to free the economic mentality and activity of the New Turkey from subjection and disorder, from foreign or Turkish capitalistic oligarchy, loans and credits, from the dominating urge for excess profits and high interest, from the *laisser-aller, laissez-faire* policy of liberalism and from all hypertrophied individualism, whether foreign or Turkish—from everything that had remained in the Turkish mind as a legacy from the former capitalistic world-wide hegemony which gave it an inorganic tendency to dominance and excess; in brief, everything in capitalism which was not Turkish was to go.

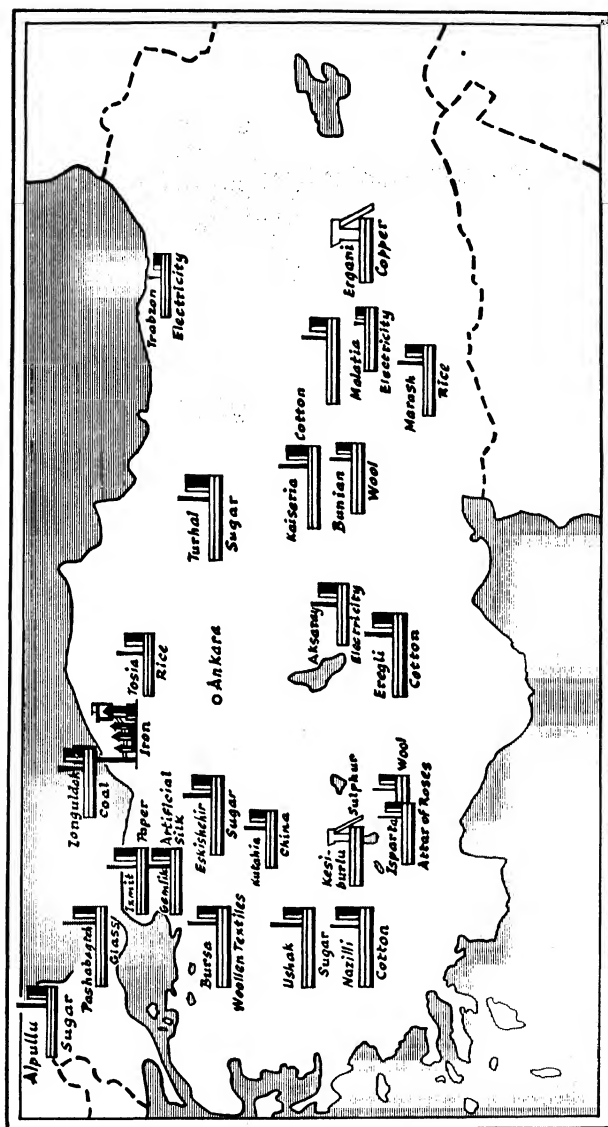
They did want, however, to preserve those powerful impulses towards development, progress and culture, which capitalism contained, and transform them systematically into something essentially Turkish: its dynamism which had overcome the resistance of the world, its tempo which in a few decades had outstripped centuries, the love of technology—all those things

which made a plaything and stimulus out of the burden and pressure of inert matter; its rationalism and logic, which created possibilities by measuring, weighing and planning existing matter and turned it into reality. All this, whether of foreign or Turkish origin, was to be used for the promotion, for the harmonious development and systematic functioning of a modern Turkish economic plan of production, manufacture and exchange, but conceived only in the interests of the community and to supply their needs. This national economic plan, in which capitalism would have no part, would be organized, controlled and directed solely by the community—the State.

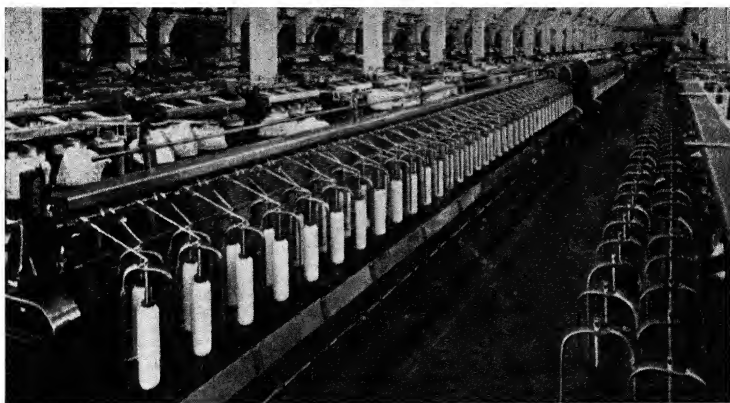
The question arises—Will there be any place in the new organization for private capital and enterprise? The answer is—Yes, if those individuals, whether they be foreigners or Turkish, know how to adapt themselves and adjust their aims to the general scheme, just as other individual economic groups such as co-operative societies, artisan and peasant associations must learn to conform, and be prepared to submit to the planning, control and direction of the national system. Under these conditions they will find wide opportunity for the exercise of their activities. In the meantime the new State economic system has begun working according to a set plan, and certain possibilities have become realities. This plan is similar to the first Five-Year Plan.

The Five-Year Plan has become a slogan of political economy, and like most slogans groups in one pithy expression the most divergent ideas, with the result that the meaning alters according to the variations of temperament, of economic and political outlook of different nations. In a general way the phrase Five-Year Plan implies a forced industrialization, but for Turkey its meaning is something entirely different from the construction of factories regardless of cost, of the sacrifices imposed on the people without any consideration of international economic relations. The Turk understands by it something complex which pervades and transforms the entire economy of the country as well as its culture. Something that is as specifically Turkish as national culture and economy.

The Turkish conception of the Five-Year Plan embraces the working of Anatolia's abundance of ore and minerals, until now practically unexploited; it includes agriculture, stock raising,



Sketch Map of the First and Second Five-Year Plan



One of the Machine Rooms in the Textile Factory at Kaiseria

forestry, which up to this time have all been left to get on as best they may; and, for the first time a guiding hand is being given to transport and trade in the whirling tide of affairs. It provides for the regulation of rivers, the construction of dams, marsh drainage and irrigation of the desert. Electric power, physics and chemistry are of equal importance in its economic calculations, as also the figures of supply and demand, cost and price. One gives impulse to the other. Industry in itself is not the primary object of the plan, but its technique and machinery give a driving force, precision and cohesion to the carrying out of its various stages.

Turkey understands by the phrase Five-Year Plan something it has never known before—a regular even flow of work with the latest equipment and run on the best lines, a steady market, augmented profits yet no arbitrarily fixed prices, and increased revenue. It means more nourishing bread, more meat and milk, better linen and warm clothes, pure water, coal and light for all those who had all too little of these things in the past. It means a more carefree life and better health for the people in both the towns and the villages. But the one is consequent on the other—increased profits, greater prosperity, heightened consumption are all parts of this same mechanism which gives a continuous drive to mining, agriculture, transport and trade. Industry is but one wheel geared in with the others, with this difference, that its

function is to intensify and synchronize the whole running of the machinery.

The first year of the Plan was 1934, but already a second Five-Year Plan is under consideration, which will complete and establish the work firmly. It is planning to increase the exploitation of the mines and the use of water-power, to increase and improve production, grain, cattle and fruit and standardize them, and to extend railways and roads. As regards dates and exact figures—what can they mean when everything is in a state of constant flux and growth, when every increase in production, manufacture and exchange calls forth a corresponding increase in demand, when saturation point is constantly being shifted by the continual growth of the population and the resultant increase in production and consumption in a country which has more than sufficient room for such growth?

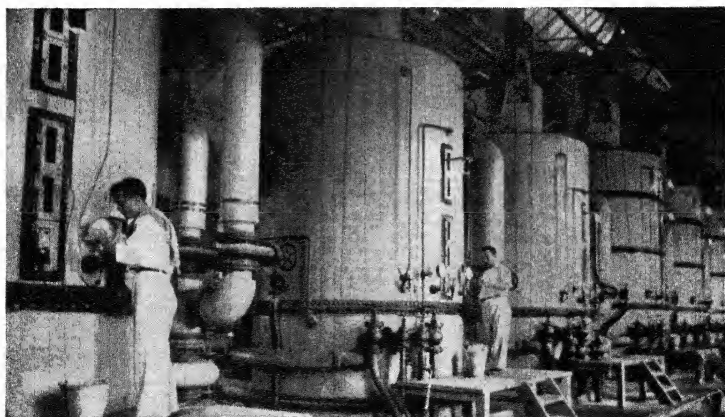
Still, if one wants figures, here are a few to illustrate these statements. . . .

116,400 new mechanical spindles for winding Turkish cotton : 33,000 at Kaiseria, 28,000 at Nazilli, 16,200 at Eregli, 9,000 at Bakirkoy. . . . New spindles and looms for twenty-two million pounds of Turkish cotton goods which formerly were all spun and woven abroad. It is true that formerly the corresponding quantity of raw cotton had been exported, but at the depreciated rates of the world market. More figures. . . . Bursa produces yearly nine million pounds of woollen textiles; formerly the whole supply was foreign. The wool will be supplied by the sheep raised in the country. Cellulose, made from the wood pulp of Turkish timber, is being turned into paper at Izmir at the rate of 35 tons a day, using in the process of manufacture kaolin from Silifke and Kutahia, alum from Sibinkarahisar and resin from Bursa and Antalia. From the same cellulose 2,200 pounds of artificial silk is being produced daily at Gemlik on the Sea of Marmora.

Still more figures. . . . At Pashabagatch 3,000 tons of glass bottles and tumblers are made daily as well as 2,000 tons of window-panes, from Turkish feldspar. At Kesiburlu 500 tons of sulphur is produced yearly; at Isparta half a million pounds of rose leaves are distilled into attar of roses. At Kastamonu sacks from home-grown hemp are being made. The cultivation of

hemp had practically disappeared with the influx of foreign, factory-made goods, but it is beginning to revive. Formerly Turkish planters had no knowledge of jute cultivation, but now Izmir is producing sacks, ropes and cables from native jute to replace those which in the past had come from abroad. Earthenware and china, which hitherto had been almost entirely imported whilst native fire-clay and kaolin remained unused, is now being manufactured at Kutahia. There are factories making sulphuric acid, caustic soda, chlorine and superphosphates—all from Turkish raw materials.

And more data. . . . At Zonguldak from some 60,000 tons of coal artificial anthracite is being made, this coke process supplying also dressing and tar for the Turkish roads, and by-products such as lubricating oils, benzine, benzol. As regards iron ore: there are three blasting-furnaces with a capacity of 200 tons a day, a Siemens-Martin furnace with a yearly output of 80,000 tons of steel castings; there are rolling-mills, forges and foundries with an output of 100,000 tons a year—steel rails and ties—all in the Zonguldak district, and all using Turkish ore. At Ergani, the modernization of the mines has made it possible to work copper deposits which were formerly inaccessible as there were no rails for the transport of the heavy winding machinery. Borings have been made for petroleum, which will furnish oil for the refineries



The Sugar Factory at Eskişehir

at Mardin near the Irak frontier. Steam turbines provide power for the electric generating plants with overland power stations at Zonguldak and Antalia. Factories attached to the slaughter-houses are producing bone meal and making use of all animal waste hitherto called offal. More data could be given showing the intensification, improvement and increase of production, all following stage by stage the tempo and rhythm of the prescribed plan, but the most important thing is that home production equals 42 per cent of the actual total imports—that is to say, seventy-five million Turkish pounds' worth of goods at to-day's rate. The question arises: Does not this reduction in imports constitute a menace to the export trade of Turkey now that no country buys from another except she can sell as well? Does it not endanger the sale of Turkish figs, raisins, tobacco, oranges, hazel nuts, angora wool, eggs, minerals and coal, of which production is far in excess of the home demand?

Turkey still cannot supply all her needs, and it is doubtful if she ever will, for she does not make the complicated machinery and parts which are so necessary, and every day more essential, for her railways, factories and mines, nor does she manufacture telephones, typewriting and calculating machines, printing presses, motor-cars, wireless instruments and cinema projection apparatus, microscopes and instruments of precision for laboratories, electric cooking utensils and fittings, refrigerators and electric stoves for hotels and private dwellings, although the demand for all these increases yearly. Will Turkey ever want to manufacture all these and the innumerable other articles which modern life demands?

Only in this restricted sense can the Five-Year Plan for Turkey be construed as "industrialization", and to realize this conception alone the new State factories have been, and will be established, with their vast, lofty, airy rows of workshops where the best modern machinery and equipment is combined with the best working conditions, so that those who work in them may be masters of the machine and not its slaves. Industrial centres are rising up in the neighbourhood of the old towns, necessitating firm, well-kept roads for the rapid transport of material and manufactured goods. Plenty of space is provided for avenues, for stretches of green lawn, schools and sports grounds. Residential quarters are planned with room for gardens, markets and

shops, welfare institutions and government offices, and a plentiful supply of water and light will assist the steady development of these centres. Thus many of the old places are gradually becoming modern towns, and following the example set by Ankara, each one is becoming a provincial centre of distribution for the current of economic and cultural forces emanating from the capital.

THE TURKISH PEASANT

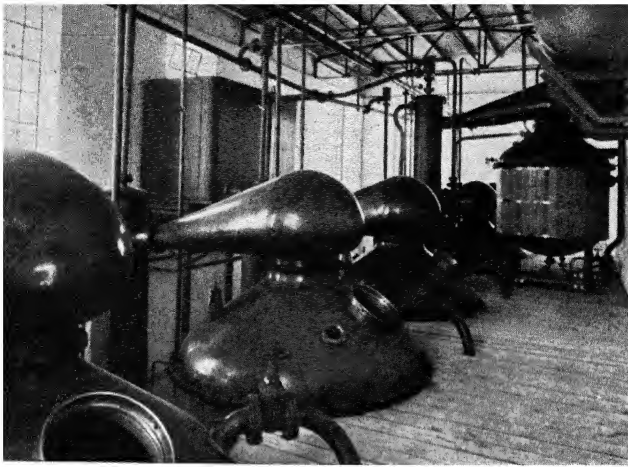
THE Turkish peasantry represents four-fifths of the total population. Up to now the peasant had left the ripening of his crops and fruit and the raising of his cattle to chance. Often forced by lack of wood or coal to burn manure as fuel, and brought to selling his seed corn or even his last beast of burden because of money-lenders, he used the primitive wooden plough because his oxen were too weak to pull any other type, and he threshed with the old-fashioned flail because the roads were impassable for modern threshing-machines. The peasants were forced by the village traders to sell their standing crops and their fruit on the bough if they wanted salt or lamp-oil. They lived from hand to mouth, taking no count of toil or time because neither availed them to obtain more than the daily necessities of life.

New laws, new teachers, new political speakers, congresses and meetings have revealed to these peasants ideas never heard or thought of before—human dignity, the rights of man, a proper standard of existence—the conceptions of modern progress came to them through the hitherto unknown medium of books and pictures and seemed like the revelation of some new creed. They listened and looked, but continued to work with their old-fashioned flails and wooden ploughs because their cattle were still too weak. They went on selling their crops in advance because they were still subject to the dictates of the village trader. But after revelation came the miracle—the first railways, motors, electric light—unknown wonders—followed by model farms, experimental stations, new roads and schools, everything which the new spirit of Ankara created following the direct plan of its original conception. From that moment onwards new confidence was born and the peasant began to feel life was worth living.

They began to try out the new seed—wheat, barley, rye and rice—supplied by the State experimental seed-growing stations. They stored their crops in the new silos the State had built for them, ground their flour at the new mills and laid aside their old-fashioned grind-stones. They started to plant sugar-beet under the guidance of the State sugar factories, and to clear scrub and bushes from uncultivated land in order to grow hazel nuts, oranges, lemons, tangerines, pistachio-nuts, mulberries and tea from seedlings distributed by the State nurseries. They planted American cotton, imported and acclimatized at the State cotton-seed station. They had confidence in the State and were prepared to accept its guidance.

In order to make the desert bear pasturage and winter fodder they now sowed lucerne provided by the State clover-seed station and in this way contrived to keep more cattle, increase the amount of manure, and strengthen their oxen so that they could draw a deeper-cutting plough. With the help of the State stock-breeding stations they improved the yield of their dairy stock. In the milder, moist undulating land of the west they are replacing the native Karaman sheep with the imported long-fleece Merino which will supply wool for the textile mills of Anatolia, and they are working hard to increase and improve poultry, vegetables and fruit, following as well and as quickly as they can the instructions of State advisers and agriculturalists.

At present they confide blindly in their advisers and their progress is still slow and clumsy, but their children are already beginning to take notice and advancing more quickly and with a more assured tread. They attend the new modern schools and are taught the meaning of work and how to space out their time, the importance of system and method, of planning and measuring and comparing, of intensified cultivation and standardization. And above all, they become familiar with the use of machinery. They see machines at work in the fields and the stable, and by manipulating them themselves are beginning to learn the sense of a practical, rationally applied technique in every section of agricultural life—in tilling, sowing, harvesting, in the selection of seeds, in the use of fertilizers, in stock breeding, in the treatment of dairy produce, egg-sorting and fruit storage. Of course, not all of them have yet fully grasped it, but its impulse goes on



Attar of Roses Distillery at Isparta

working—slightly or at full strength—in every one of them.

This natural widespread activity is not yet equally intense in every village in the land, for the conditions required for the use of machinery are not yet to be found everywhere nor is every man capable of handling them. But conditions can be altered whilst the work of making a durable structure continues, and men can be taught, as is shown every day in the general improvement in the standard of education, and machines which have been damaged by unskilful handling can be repaired and replaced. The sole irreplaceable element is the élan of the first inspirational impulse which must not abate and bring the whole thing to a standstill. What does it matter if an axle gets overheated, a lever warps, or a gear-wheel snaps? Does it mean modern technology, the mechanism of the new age, must be renounced and the laborious struggle for progress hemmed and hampered? Far better to reconcile this slow-moving, hesitant step, in spite of friction and resistance, with the great rhythm of general progress, remembering to arrange carefully so that each step, each stage may be carried through at the approved tempo. This is the meaning of the Five-Year Plan in Turkish agriculture.



Izmir (Smyrna) Fair

THE *leitmotiv* of Turkey's economic plan is a constant, steady regulation of production and demand, whether in the mines or forests, in agriculture or industry, for home consumption or export. The quality, quantity and type of goods are determined by the demand, and speculation, overproduction as well as underproduction, are eliminated. The capacity of the State factories is calculated on the demand of the home market, and their requirements in the way of raw materials regulate the amount of labour, whether it be in the sugar-beet fields, the cotton plantations, in the cultivation of hemp and jute, the breeding of Merino sheep, or the output of kaolin, feldspar and iron ore. The sphere of influence of the State factories is confined to Turkish territory just as their production is limited to the home demand.

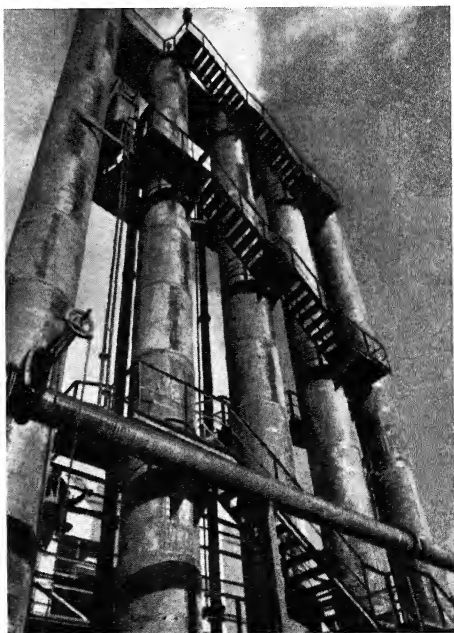
But Turkey possesses a great variety of national wealth: coal, manganese, chrome, antimony, sulphur, meerschaum, cement, pinewood, cedarwood, oak, plane, tobacco, raisins, figs, grapes, apricots, apples, pistachio and other nuts, olives and olive oil, poultry and eggs, hides and skins, wool and goats-hair, attar of roses, carpets and silk—and this abundance causes her to seek its disposal in the markets of the world. It covers expenditure on engines for the new railways, machinery for the new factories, instruments and apparatus for the new schools and scientific institutes. But the purchasing power of Turkey's wealth depends upon the exchange value of world markets, and this placing of Turkish goods on the market represents the third side of the triangle—production, manufacture and exchange—and sets the limits to Turkey's economic sphere.

State economic planning has left Turkish commerce, its customary forms and ways, free from interference and restrictions. It has, as we have seen, arranged for the State working of mines, industries and agricultural undertakings such as stock-breeding and seed-research stations, but it has abstained from State trading activities and anything that is concerned directly with trade, such as State buying and selling organizations. It may be because the State is conscious that it is just exactly in the sphere of exchange of goods that world economic concepts are undergoing a trans-

formation, which will free it from its own defects, and that behind the new terms of economic phraseology such as compensation, quotas, clearing-house, the old structure of world trade is being rebuilt unconsciously on lines more and more approximating the Turkish plan.

Nevertheless the mechanism of the State economic plan is playing its part here also, though in a different way, by raising national activity to the highest possible pitch by systematic organization. But the problem here is no longer the easy one of surveying and controlling the home market, but the continuous fluctuation and variety of international demand. Its task is to regulate and adapt to world market conditions, competition and fashion the variety of Turkish exports, the products of the coal mine as well as that of the oil-press, that of the carpet-loom alongside poultry and eggs. Turkish economy has to find the means, among the play of credits and debits of interstate trade, of consolidating and assuring the continuity of national progress. This is the point where the Turkish national economic plan fits into the network of international economy.

An official centre, the "Turkofis", has been established for the handling of this complex system with its multifarious activities at home and abroad. A network of branch offices links London, Tokio, Haifa, Moscow, Washington, Vienna and Athens with the Turkish Chambers of Commerce abroad, the consuls, trade correspondents and



Zonguldak

commercial attachés, with Turkish representatives at the big international fairs and markets, the big importing houses and foreign consumers. At home it has linked up the whole of Turkey, working through trade exhibitions and in conjunction with the local Chambers of Trade and Commerce, the co-operative societies, guilds and merchants, and has reached out into contact with individual Turkish producers on the tobacco plantations, poultry farms and orange groves.

It registers every stage in the technique of world trade in its relation to Turkish exports, it studies the characteristics of foreign markets, their purchasing power, taxes, customs dues and freight charges. It examines their commercial mechanism, their usages and customs, their methods of packing, sizing and advertising, and analyses psychological factors such as habits, preferences and the taste of the consumer. Similarly home production is studied, examined and analysed in its various branches and spheres, native customs and habits, taxes and charges, the costs of insurance, the conditions for the granting of credit, premiums and rates of interest, and the routes, railways and ports used in the disposal of Turkish produce. With the information and reports from at home and abroad at its command, the Turkofis is in a position to regulate the country's production in accordance with the requirements of world markets.

A selection has been made from among the large variety of Turkish products of the most useful and suitable types and qualities with which to establish a national standard. First of all the peasant, the market-gardener and cattle-breeder are advised and instructed with regard to cultivating and breeding up to standard; then the carriers and traders are told how to sort, mark and pack, supervise and control. The Turkofis regulates warehousing, delivery and shipping to accord with the most favourable market periods and seasons, so as to prevent price fluctuations and speculation, and seeks to obtain the cheapest and best means of transport. It controls, guides and organizes in the most rational, methodical way whatever Turkey produces for world trade, so that everything marked "Turkish" may obtain the highest possible price in that particular market. That is what the concept of the new Turkish economic plan means by the exchange of goods under modern Turkish economy.

THE New Turkey has set in motion this rhythm of production, manufacture and exchange by the sheer dynamism of her thinking and planning, and constant harmonious progress has been ensured by working to a definite goal. But for world economic activity each economic system must make use of a common medium—money. All economic thought must be considered in terms of money, and labour as an economic factor must be so expressed. Money decides the fate of the economic system. The New Turkey wanted the capital employed in her new economy to be Turkish.

National capital was not available when the new economic plan was launched—the people had to be taught how to create it. They did not realize, as they worked in the fields, the mines and the workshops, producing lasting wealth for Turkey, that this work represented values which, calculated in terms of money, meant capital and formed a source of new productive work. Their minds had to be trained to understand the whole colossal power in the accumulated energy of labour when translated into terms of money, and to appreciate the technical, intellectual and social possibilities of national capital, so that they might measure what the labour of the nation could accomplish for national prosperity, if national “wealth” was handled according to the economic plan.

One year after Lausanne the first Turkish bank was founded—the Isch Bankasi or Bank of Affairs—we might call it the Business Bank. •It collects the people’s savings, systematically and methodically, from those of the humblest labourer to the highest in the land, converts it into capital and further labour. It takes the farthings from home money-boxes, merchants’ deposits lying in the safes of provincial branches, and profits from its foreign establishments to set in motion Turkish sugar refineries, pit-cages in the Turkish coalmines, and winding machinery in the sulphur and copper mines. It makes them spin and weave Turkish silk and cotton, make glass and bottles, puts them to work in the Anatolian forests.

The national desire to create anew was demonstrated to the

people by the activities of the Isch Bankasi, where for the first time they learnt the function of money in the service of the economic operations of the new nation. This was but the beginning of their financial education. The Isch Bankasi was soon followed by other banks of varying importance, with provincial branches—banks that dealt in mortgages and real estate, banks for public constructional work, for industry and trade, for commercial credits, discounts and securities—all of them purely Turkish. The old-fashioned Agricultural Bank, the only Turkish bank existing in Ottoman times, was modernized, and the first peasant co-operative societies were established—all employing only Turkish capital. And then "The Bank"—the Central Bank of the Republic—was created, the issuing house which regulates the flow of capital and which has transformed the belief in a prosperous future for Turkey into something of present economic value—in other words, it has established Turkish credit on a solid basis.

When the State set about planning the new factories with their tens of thousands of new spindles, their thousands of tons of new minerals, paper, and china, their millions of kilowatt hours, with all the work they offered to thousands of additional Turkish workmen and the millions of Turkish pounds of new values they created, it founded two of the latest Turkish banks to be established—the Sumer Bank and the Eti Bank, evoking by their names the most ancient Turkish states known to history, the Sumerian and the Hittite. Together with the Isch Bankasi and the Agricultural Bank they convert the nation's savings into investments in the shape of new machinery, into the exploitation of plantations, farms, cattle-breeding and pasturage, into railways and roads, into new wares. This is all Turkish capital created by the Turkish nation.

THE MEANING OF TURKISH NATIONAL ECONOMY

THE funds in the Treasury and State banks and those figuring in their credit ledgers are entirely Turkish. The only foreign debts are a legacy from the old Ottoman debt. Expenditure on roads, bridges, railways, model farms, cattle-breeding stations and seed-selection depots, schools, hospitals, establishments to combat

endemic disease, on the Army and the Air Force and whatever else the Turkish Republic has created—literally out of nothing—since the first days of her existence—all has been paid for by the nation's own money—work and produce. And whenever machinery and plant have been purchased on credit terms it is a purely commercial operation which is balanced out by an actual exchange of goods, in accordance with the system of compensations and clearings of merchandise, and entails no concessions, securities or privileges whatever.

For the Turkish people economy means much more than merely production, manufacture and exchange. It embodies the nation's will to live an active, creative life, and shows how its vital dynamism by methodical and thoughtful planning can be utilized in a systematic, constructive effort. The soul of Turkey and the very rhythm of life is contained in it, always pressing onwards with increasing and harmonious intensity. Turkey's economy to-day is a part of those ancient Turkish forces which the inexhaustible abundance of the soil of Anatolia is ever renewing and in which she herself is ever finding new birth from that which she has created.

CHAPTER VIII

KAMALISM

THE IDEA AND SIGNIFICANCE OF KAMALISM—ORIENT AND OCCIDENT
—METAMORPHOSIS—THE SYMBOL OF THE ARROWS—HOME POLICY—
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE PEOPLE—ITS PROGRAMME—FOREIGN
POLICY—THE POWER OF KAMALISM AS A POLITICAL IDEA—IMPERIAL-
ISM AND KAMALISM

THE thoughts of men nearly always remain bound within the narrow limits which time and space have allotted to their existence. The truths they proclaim in the name of mankind are often regarded as errors after a short while or by those living but a few miles distant, the conclusions they arrive at may often be proved to be the most dangerous fallacies. At rare intervals superhuman vitality may permit certain individuals or nations to overcome those limitations of time and space, and to attain such heights that they can dominate, surmount or destroy these restrictive obstacles. These are the turning points which mark the great epochs of history, and these are the men or nations that conceive and hew out the shape of the future. They, too, are subject to the insuperable laws of all organic evolution—they come into existence—they grow—they pass away. These exceptional individuals or nations have the gift of discerning what can be from what ought to be or must be, and steering between the Scylla of “too early” and the Charybdis “too late” know how to seize upon the right moment for action. They know when the natural flow of affairs only needs a turn of the helm or when they themselves must take over the steering. This faculty makes them conscious of the necessity of their mission and makes them masters of the force and perseverance essential for the transformation of

what is possible into actual achievement. Whilst the mass of human beings are unaware of what is toward and can only see the flux of everyday life, these individuals have already seized hold of events and transformed them into the static shapes of history.

The great mass of the people rarely realizes at the right time that the change has been accomplished. It continues to struggle and press for the old ideas, principles and rights without noticing that their meaning and substance have long since departed. They go on, as it were, tilting at windmills, being sceptical and contrary to everything which is inevitable but which does not fulfil their dream-wish, whether it be doctrine, supposition or fact. They lack the gift of being able to feel unwonted emotion, of entertaining unfamiliar thoughts, and whilst they are in doubt about the present, the future is being signed and sealed by those who can see and plan ahead.

New Turkey undertook to introduce a new word into the vocabulary of the world—a new name for a new idea—an inclusive term for a new way of thinking and acting—that word is *Kamalism*.

It echoes through the length and breadth of Turkey, from shore to shore, in the schools and factories, in editorial offices and government departments, in Ankara and in the provinces. It is the subject of college lectures and public speeches, it is as familiar to children as to adults, to peasants as to townsfolk. The whole of Turkey is speaking about it, hearing about it, thinking about it.

Kamalism !

For the Turkish people it signifies firstly the new outward forms of existence, the new tangible activities of Turkish trade. For centuries the Turks were the slaves of foreigners, and now they have been freed by their own leader through their own efforts. Devastated fields, villages in ashes, years of hopeless warfare—and now fertile lands, towns humming with industry, railways, factories, freedom to work, and all due to their own energy. Obscurantism, superstition and reaction have gone, and in their place we find free education and culture for men and women alike with their own Turkish teachers. The walls of the Middle Ages have been thrown down and a new structure is rising, planned by Turkish experts on national, free lines.



Hittite hieroglyphics

But Kamalism has a further, a deeper significance for the Turkish people, something to which it is difficult to give expression: it consists in a new struggle against fate and a determination not to submit to it but to master it—an impulse towards creative effort for the common good by methods and means chosen and desired by the people themselves—a new state of mind which knows how to plan systematically along the general lines of evolution and to select the appropriate moments for the shaping of events and forming dispositions so as to attain the planned goal. It means a new understanding of the organizing power of logic which can make a national structure from atomized energy—not an ideological castle in the air, but a real fortress which protects the present and prepares a safeguard for the future.

Kamalism has for Turkey a still higher, a supreme significance which raises the nation above its own destiny—the consciousness of its mission in the comity of nations. It means the ancient remembrance of tens of centuries of her natural vocation to link, unite and fuse together mankind in the intellectual and cultural sphere, the call of eternal forces which, rising from the achievements of the past, make known the nation's duty to the future, and to help the new epoch in civilization find form and values; to regulate, harmonize and be the bridge between the past and the future. For the Turkish people this is the principle of their existence, their philosophy, the reason for their being.

Kamalism is the message from the New Turkey to the other nations, the new word added to the world's vocabulary, the new creed by which she lives and for which she is prepared to die.

And what of those other nations?

Many believed in Kamalism, trusted it and are adhering to it. Others are examining and questioning it and are ready to follow. But there are others who neither believe nor are they willing to test it—those inevitable sceptics who stigmatize it as a myth, or Utopia, and fight it, some of them through force of habit and disinterestedly, others in pursuit of their own interests.

Where lies the truth?

Kamalism means all this for Turkey to-day, but does it reach the entire country, the whole of this varied and multiple entity, this ethnic, social, economic organism which is composed by the nation and the land? Has a single rousing call really been able to awaken the Turkish people from their age-long sleep to a new feeling for life, is it really inspired to the depths of its being and ready to make a new common effort to advance civilization? Or is it not rather one single individual, a great man, who has created and diffused this aura of power and will, maintaining and giving it movement, so that it can only exist in and through him, and will disappear when he is no more? Is this movement based on the Leader and not on the action of a principle?

What is Kamalism?

It implies all this for the whole of present-day Turkey. But a further question springs at once to the lips—Even if Kamalism embodies this movement and has penetrated the whole nation to the profoundest depths of its soul, is it not a passing excitement, an intoxication of new words and ideas? Is it not the momentary paroxysm of the masses, born of the glory of victory in battle and nourished by their new-found freedom and rights, and raised to an ecstasy by the humming of the new machines? Will this novelty endure and preserve its rejuvenating force? Will realization follow planning? Will the machinery go on running smoothly? Will enthusiasm, inspiration and progress continue their harmonious advance when this one man is no longer holding the reins? Are these not merely the history and philosophy of an individual, a leader, but precepts of universal conduct?

And even if Kamalism does contain all and everything which Turkey needs to-day, to-morrow and until the end of time—a consciousness of herself, self-determination, the maintenance of national status, a common destiny for the whole nation as a state,

a society, a political and economic entity—does it follow it is a forerunner, proclaiming a change of thought and action for mankind, anticipating, feeling and guiding a new form of existence into the world, a transformation of the whole substance of life, a magnet drawing the whole world into the stream of conscious thought? Is it a universal principle of existence, expressing some general truth to guide the conduct of the universe?

What is the truth about Kamalism? How can one answer this question?

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

THERE is one way—try to understand the Turkish people, think with them, feel with them, get their impressions of life.

Think with them! Before we can grasp, understand and give an opinion on the Turkish way of thinking we must ourselves think back—right to the point of division in human thought which took place when the world was divided into two hemispheres—the East and the West.

The Orient—the original and organic division—remained enclosed in its cycle and continued to move in circles and curves as does all organic matter—just as the seed produces fruit and the fruit produces seed, spring is followed by winter and winter is succeeded by spring, as night follows day and day night.

The other—the Occident—the product of deliberation, evolved from organic matter by logic and reflexion, follows a straight line, rational and mechanical—from the seed to the fruit, from the individual to the species, from cause to effect.

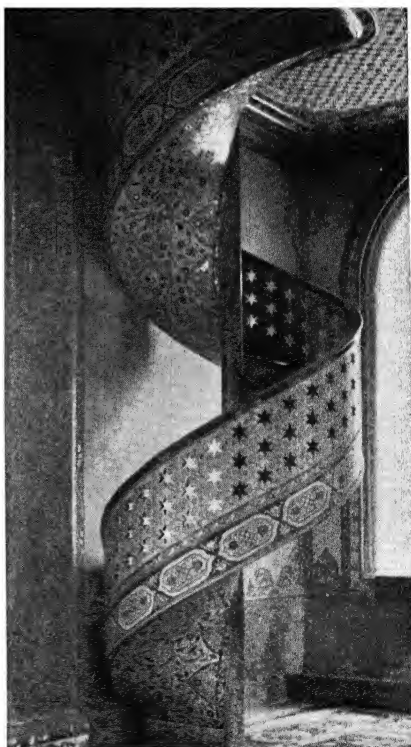
Two diametrically opposed ways of thought and action, two opposed conceptions of the world and of life. The Orient originated the cyclic concept of individual existence, the transmigration of souls and the resurrection of the dead. From the Orient came Messianism, mysticism and those religions which embrace the earth, humanity and the cosmos in the same orbit. It invented the spiral, the cupola and the curves of arabesques, and took as its device the crescent.

The Occident chose the Cross. The lines of classic antiquity and Gothic cathedrals with their soaring towers are its creation—it discovered the rules of perspective with its angles, planes and

projection, the principles of mechanics and technology. Rationalism is a product of the Occident.

The West advanced like a rushing flood, spreading its waters wide and throwing down the barriers of rank and profession, of feudal caste and class, of sovereignty whether temporal or spiritual, autocracy and despotism, bearing on its waves the democracy of modern times. Unfettered by the past, concepts and ideas constantly pressed and thrust themselves forward, smashing scholastic philosophy and dogmas, the false gods and idols of society, art and culture. What had seemed inaccessible in the morning was reached and perhaps passed, or even rejected, by evening. The Occident was never at rest, never long in a state of equilibrium, but almost constantly in revolt against everything which was immature, impracticable, old-fashioned. It overcame the narrow-mindedness of the small town and the obscurity of religion, provincial autocracy and petty potentates, remodelling life in the village and town, in whole countries, making the whole of society and the State with their cliques and groups and classes into newer, more compact entities. The Occident formulated the idea of the Nation.

The Orient remained introspective, immersed in itself. The fate of the individual was wrapped up in that of the concentric circles of the family, the clan and the tribe, and determined by



*Spiral Staircase in a Mosque
in Kutahia*

the conflicts of sects and caste and dynastic rivalries. From generation to generation the Orient protected and supported the inheritance of the past, gave a patriarchal veneration to the immutability of customs, usages and rights. The indissoluble endless ties of tradition, mysticism and religion were woven closely round everyone and everything, round work and play, business and agriculture, the judiciary and the schools. They held suzerain and vassal, priest and community, teacher and pupil in the same centripetal movement, and circumscribed the ambit of every reform and effort of national revival, every new tendency in poetry, philosophy and art.

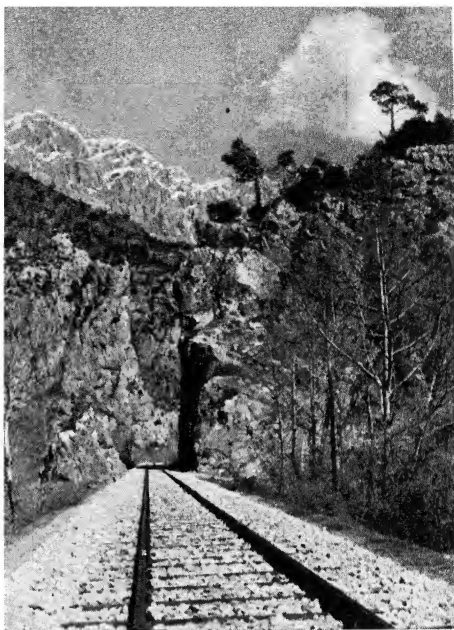
These two distinct fields of thought and sentiment, separated from each other by the thousands of years of their formation, had much to give each other in the way of ethics, religion, æsthetics and natural science, but in the depths of their souls they remained incomprehensible and inaccessible to one another, mistrustful, antagonistic, aloof. Neither was to blame, they were evolving as fate had ordained.

The evolutionary urge of the Occident for constant advance and expansion became concentrated in an irresistible desire for increased power and domination. And as a consequence of the logical principles which leads from the individual to the general, the conquest of towns and provinces was followed by the domination of countries and empires. The subjection of nations followed that of individuals, the individual urge for power became a collective one and its field of action grew from that of a nation to the whole world. This was the origin of Western Imperialism.

There ensued a colossal struggle between the aggressive, direct force of Western thought and the static, cyclic conceptions of the Oriental mind on a battlefield which stretched from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. All the weapons which methodically organized human ingenuity could create and assemble were brought into action by the West after full consideration of their cause and effect: religion and education, technology and money, politics and propaganda. Every possible means was utilized to realize its plans: opium and alcohol, campaigns for the treatment of endemic disease such as cholera and plague, prospecting for petrol, fluctuations in the price of silver, rubber and tea, missionaries, doctors, teachers, merchants, engineers, research-workers.

*A View in the
Taurus Mountains*

It allied, embroiled or united Moslems and Hindus, Sunnites and Shiites, the followers of Confucius and Buddha, fellaheen and Copts, Brahmins and Untouchables, Marionites and Druses—just as it suited its plans. Its ethical claims were made in the name of law and order and civilization, but its *ultima ratio* was battleships, cannons and machine-guns. Such was



the triumph of the direct force of the Occident over the rigid, cyclic civilization of the Orient.

At the point of intersection of these two lines of thought, between the two battle fronts and separating these two worlds of ideas and two epochs in world-time lay the Ottoman Empire, impotent, disunited, deluded, incapable of understanding the West and unwilling to give up the East. It tried to adopt the ideas of both, but was unable to acquire more than superficial symbols. The piety of the East, its protective sense of tranquillity and patriarchal rules of conduct had degenerated into fanaticism, stagnation and despotism. The urge which had created active vital states from tribal communities now produced such misshapen objects as Ottomanism, Pan-Turanism and Pan-Islamism. The forceful, calculating power policy of the Occident in the Ottoman Empire became inverted and adopted the constantly shifting, opportunistic jugglery of "Divide and rule".

THINK with the Turkish people—feel with them—get their impressions of life.

Europe forgets—modern Europe perhaps too often and too easily—the need for mutual understanding of East and West. Possibly in the rush and demand for expansion and modernity she has lost and forgotten the acquired tranquillity she once owned, and no longer looks back on the past and recollects the history which forms her inheritance. She probably overlooks the fact that estates are changing hands, and the many thousands of years which had already elapsed before the few short centuries of her own participation in history began to run. It may be she has forgotten all the faster and more easily since she began measuring time in quinquenniums and space by the moving non-step belt and has limited her desire for power and possession only by eternity and the whole earth.

Europe did not see and did not want to see that in the Orient the periodic cycle of things, which had seemed so immutable, was slowly being displaced, and ideas were gradually becoming modified; that from Java to Syria and from the Nile to Japan the apparently unalterable dominant forms of tradition, philosophy and religion were changing their aspect and manifesting new tendencies. She did not hear nor did she wish to hear resounding through the Orient certain cries, hitherto used by her alone, such as “the rights of man”, “self-determination”, “the nation”, “democracy”, “constitution”, “sex-equality”—cries prompted, it is true, more by emotion than by clear thinking, often confusedly and without any attempt at order and most of them confounding appearance with essence and word with fact.

Occidental rationalism could not understand what the Orient with its emotional sensitiveness had been able to foretell—that a new epoch was dawning for the whole of humanity, only this time Europe was the first to cross the threshold, just as in former epochs in history the Orient had taken the lead. It could not grasp, in spite of the World War, in spite of world crises, that new emotions and a new perception were giving a new form to thought and action in the Orient, that new forces and new solu-

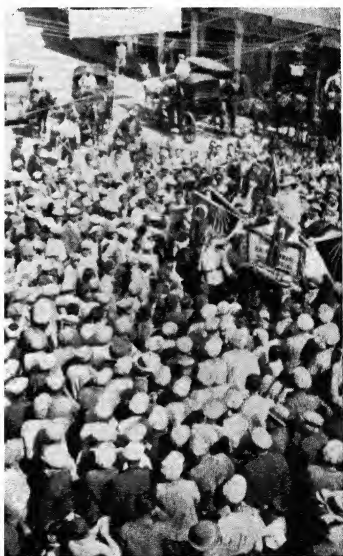
tions to life's problems were being created, similar, possibly, in many ways to those of the Occident but never a blind copy.

What the Orient had lacked was the impulse from without, the advent of a personality capable of showing it the new method it must employ, the new direction it must take to reach its new goal. It ardently desired to find a way out of the chaos and leave the diverging path of the past to follow the line of its natural development, but the impulse to set the mechanism in motion could never have come from the Occident, for though the Orient might borrow from the Occident some of its forms of thought, its rhythm, technique, mechanism, the essence of this movement, its force and soul had to be its own. This impulse was given to the Orient by Turkish force, and the inspiration came from Anatolia.

THE SYMBOL OF THE ARROWS

AFTER the Turkish people had freed themselves from the fetters of Ottoman rule they continued to keep the crescent as the emblem of the new State, and used it instead of a coat of arms, but with it another emblem was always displayed, another emblem of equal significance, a symbol of the will, the force, the aims of the nation—this symbol consists in shining arrows darting forth into space, some long and supple and in advance of the shorter, more compact ones, but all charged with equal energy and aimed at the same target. They symbolize the new spirit which animates Turkey.

They have a common point of departure, and it is evident that one hand has set them in



An Election Meeting in Adana

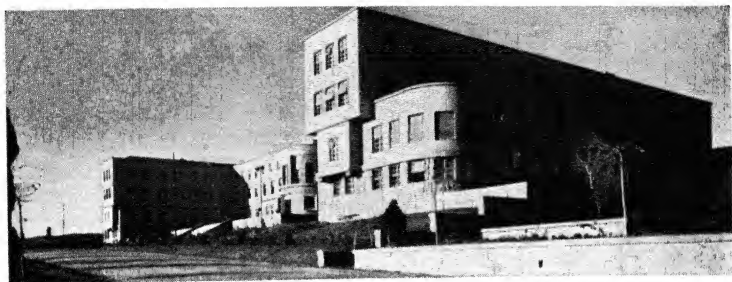
flight, one individual person has calculated their trajectory, fixed their target and given them the impetus to reach it. The strength of his will is insensibly impelling and regulating their flight even after they have left the bow, but not physical but spiritual force is guiding them, for once let loose, the arrows are free to fly independently of human control. These arrows are the symbol of the spirit of the new Turkish State.

This State has taken shape from the ideas of the new epoch, ideas which spontaneously and unconsciously were acting upon the feelings and perceptions of the people; a single man, a military leader, has reflected and realized how to give them form. He conceived this State and made the people state-conscious and desirous of forming a state in accordance with the spirit of the times. Then he set all these concepts free to fly abroad through the length and breadth of the land and penetrate the whole nation for all time. And these thoughts continue winging their way through space.

The aim of the new Turkish State has been determined by the character of the people and historic development of the age. The nation itself could only guess at it vaguely and uncertainly, but one man, the Leader, the master-builder of his epoch, knew what that aim was and how to reach it. He defined the objective purpose of the State in conformity with its nature and history and ordered its forces methodically and systematically. He settled the guiding principles but left development and achievement to the constructive capacity of the nation and the future.

One single individual has had the thought and constructive purpose to plan and shape the Turkish Republic from the facts and tendencies of the age. Following the principles of reason and logic he has united into one complete structure the various parts of the State mechanism, regulated its functions in accordance with the historic character and temperament of the Turkish people and assured its progress against all outside interference or mishap. Then he set it in motion, free to accomplish its destiny and to serve its only purpose—Turkey and her mission in the comity of nations.

His political genius continues to regulate and give an impulse to the considerations and executive power of the State so that it may aim at something beyond its original achievement. This is



The General Staff Headquarters

the action of the mind of the individual upon that of the mass, the spirit of to-day inspiring the spirit of to-morrow. This it is which unites the innumerable, aimless, petty activities of the people into a great collective task following a prearranged plan, and organizes individuals of average capacity to strive and plan in common on rational lines envisaging reality. His also is the systematic, methodical shaping of tradition, the call to young talent to create and produce, to enlarge its ambitions and widen its vistas, so that it can carry on the work in time to come. The arrows are the symbol of the influence of one man on the many and on the future. That is Kamalism.

HOME POLICY

THE basic structure of all modern states is the same—the constitution, just as the instruments of modern politics are everywhere alike—the ballot and the press. The only difference is the method and technique employed in their use, but it is exactly that which determines what is done in the State and its importance and status amongst the other nations and groups of states. The nature and drafting of the constitution, the extent of the suffrage, the greater or less liberty of the press mean nothing as compared to the questions of whether the election has been faked, and who pulls the wires, whether the press is a vested interest and whom does it serve. From the first republics of classic Greece to the most independent parliamentary democracies of the Old and New Worlds, elections have been faked and will continue to be faked, just as the press, ever since newspapers have existed, has

been only too frequently, and will continue to be, the tool of egoistic, ephemeral self-interest.

The political apparatus of the Turkish Republic is composed of the same rights, liberties and responsibilities as all other modern democratic constitutions, but the rules for its functioning differ. The Turkish Republic keeps well away from the control levers and hubs of the State mechanism, the great crowd of helpers and assistants, who so often voice the most exaggerated views and exorbitant claims, and muffles their overshrill, distracting voices, which so often sound like some confused noise to the unaccustomed ears of the mass of the people. It prevents that specious play of fine phrase and election programmes which so often appear to promise everything under the sun and in fact promise nothing, and which can be interpreted in every conceivable way and viewed from every angle.

Turkey carries the potential force of her domestic policy along a system of wires carefully spread over the whole country and reaching every inhabitant. This system collects all the small, widely dispersed currents of nameless political activity found in communities and villages and combines them into the strong, dynamic stream which gives driving force to the political mechanism of the nation. This system measures the tiniest fluctuation in the vibrations of the national spirit, and records every break in the connection; it intensifies the weak, flagging, isolated current, disperses any disturbing over-tension and connects the fluctuating variable elements in this dynamic field with the equable invariable product. It is the accumulator of national energy and at the same time assures a steady transmission drive to the mechanism of government, keeping up a constant rhythm for each stage of the work planned. That is what Kamalism means in the home policy of Turkey.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE PEOPLE

POLITICAL life in Turkey has no use for the party system. There is only one party, one organized body which directs the politics of the country, a united and unanimous party, the party of the State, of the Leader, of the people, without factions, cliques or groups. It is the Republican Party of the People—The Party.

“Party” in the true sense of the word means division; but The Party in Turkey unites, closes the ranks, fuses elements together. It neither coerces nor threatens, it gains adherents only by the strength of its ideas. It embraces the entire nation, men and women, peasants and townsfolk without distinction of class, economic interest or intellectual standards, in Ankara, in the provinces and throughout the country. One citizen in every eight is a member.

The Party embodies the idea of Turkish republicanism. It permeates the thoughts and actions of government departments, the press, clubs, schools, factories, banks, transport services, national economy, politics and science. It inspires and organizes every activity, small or large, individual or collective, so as to arrive at its planned objective. It shapes and transforms the thought of the individual into a collective current of thought, and sets it flowing gradually along the planned channel. The Party is the crystallization, as it were, of the homogeneous all-pervasive sense of national consciousness, reflecting in its many facets the multiplicity and variety of individual opinions. It calls together, at regular stated intervals, the entire population of Turkey, from village communities, country districts and provinces, from the plains and the farthest valley, from the mountain and the coast, to discuss and debate at meetings, conferences and congresses, small local matters such as communal pasturage, and rural roads, as well as important problems of State policy and administration, transport and industry. But everything and everybody is helped and guided by The Party along lines of common interest and intellectual unity.

It creates, formulates and develops the political will of Turkey. The deliberations and resolutions framed in the debates and discussion of the village assemblies, passed on from there to district and provincial congresses and right up to the General Congress of the Party, are formulated, clarified, and sifted and condensed by it so that the will of the individual on the farm, in the hamlet, the village, the workshop or the office may become the united, powerful will of the nation and govern society and the State. That is the conscious national objective of The Party organization. The Party represents the power of the Turkish Republic; it is a directive and national force of control which equalizes

and disciplines irreconcilable arbitrary tendencies of individual interests whether in the State service or in positions of authority or high military rank.

In the Chamber it considers and passes bills dealing with law and justice, finance and taxation, and sees they are carried out by the ministries and provincial and district authorities. By means of deputies, reliable party men, and inspectors, by questionnaires and special reports from village and town, it keeps up a systematic and constant survey; and it analyses and supervises the conferences and congresses.

The Party identifies itself with the people, and derives from them the vitality essential for its inspiration and activity. It is, in effect, the people with their varying moods, opinions and desires, with their similarities and differences, their capacity and weaknesses, but it harmonizes and synchronizes all this in accordance with the spirit and ways of the age and maintains the tempo and beat of their rhythm in part and in whole, to-day, and prepares them for the future. Its symbols are the sharp, dazzling arrows on their flight through space.

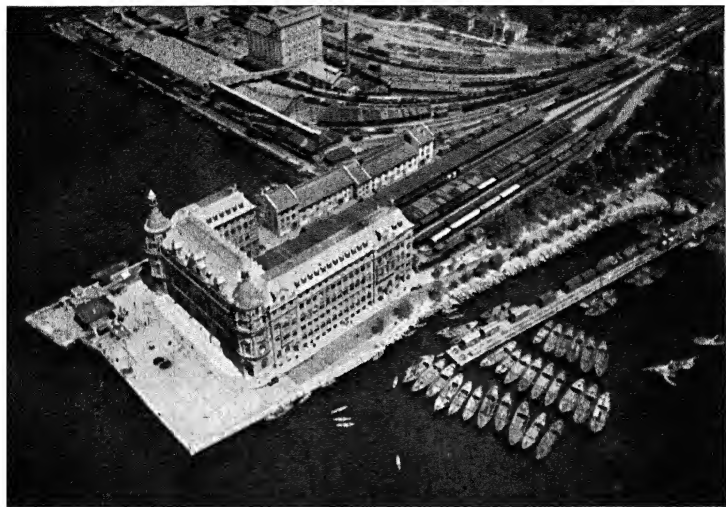
The spirit of The Party is that of the Leader who conceived and constructed the Turkish State, gave it its predestined form and aims and made the Turkish people into a sovereign nation. That is the spirit which is forming the great deeds of the past into a new tradition destined to determine the future trend of history. It is substituting the enduring force of the principle for the power of the individual, the immortality of the maxim for the transitory life of a human being.

Such is the essence of Kamalism.

ITS PROGRAMME

WHAT is the programme of "The Party"? It is contained in six concise and definite words—The Republican Party of the People is Republican — Nationalist — Democratic — Etatiste — Secular —and Revolutionary.

Six short separate words which nevertheless contain in themselves everything and express six ideas inseparable one from the other—the whole essence of life, the objects, the form and



The Haydar Pasha Railway Station

administration of government, society and state economy in Turkey.¹

These principles form the basic philosophy, the very existence of the New Turkey, that Turkey which has as its emblem shining, sharp arrows darting out into space.

They are the principles of Kamalism.

FOREIGN POLICY

HOME policy is an auxiliary of foreign policy, a means of obtaining a leading rôle among other nations on the stage of history and not merely remaining one of the chorus, particularly in epochs of great change when heightened problems and difficulties constitute a test of national capacity and energy.

The vital will to live of a nation can be gauged by the mode and intensity of interest it displays in such circumstances in its relations with other nations and the determining forces of humanity.

Three centres of radiation animate the gigantic transforma-

¹ See Appendices I and II at end of book.

tion of the modern world and its structure of cultural, economic and social conceptions—one in the east, a young and vigorous nationalism, one in the west—ageing imperialism still struggling for existence, and the third—in the north, a great social revolution which with the ardour of some new mystic religion proclaims and maintains the levelling oneness of mankind and organic matter. The rays emanating from these three centres penetrate, displace and supplant each other and shed a light of varying strength over the changes in the aspect of the universe.

With each of these centres the Turkish Republic has territorial, ideological and political contacts. The Ottoman Empire, because of its impotence and internal division and strife had to be a passive victim torn between protagonists in their struggle for world conquest, the New Turkey stands above these conflicts of ideas and forces, conscious of her own task, rooted in the soil of Anatolia—but an active element in the field of operations. The political thoughts and desires of Turkey share in the determination, the guidance and the handling of world politics.

Turkish politics spread their branches and twigs freely in the constantly agitated atmosphere of world interests, but the main trunk remains embedded deep down in the Anatolian soil which binds its roots. And they are content with these limitations because their sole aim and purpose is the development of the Turkish concept which is being worked out in Anatolia. This is the idea they want to protect, develop and nourish and to which all external ties are dedicated, and which Turkey's foreign policy serves methodically and systematically, making use of the realities of the age, but putting aside all creeds of blood and race, the ancient Messianic legend, and ideological and political irridentism.

But neither barriers nor frontiers erected by human agency can check one thing—the victorious force of the idea. It overcomes and passes them by with the utmost ease. The spreading of an idea is irresistible and independent of all human will and action if it has seized upon the spirit of the times and world events, and provided it has recognized the transformation which is taking place and has mastered its rhythm and tempo. It gains hold of tribes, nations, whole races. Its outer aspects may appear to change according to the historical background, the character

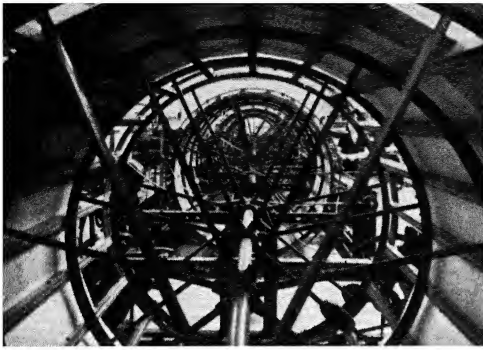
and environment of those who take it up, but its true essence never alters.

The Turks were the first people in the Orient to realize their national sovereignty and make it the fundamental principle of their state in its home and foreign policy. They accomplished it by fighting, when it was necessary, by making friendly treaties and alliances where they found friends and allies, but never deviating from the straight line they had planned. They resisted the coercion and armaments of imperialism, the pushing and thrusting of its unconscious clumsy tools—greedy, megalomaniac foreign nationalism—and used as a bulwark against that most inflammatory of revolutionary ideologies—international communism—a systematic policy of stern realism.

THE POWER OF KAMALISM AS A POLITICAL IDEA

THE Turkish people formed the indestructible shape of the Republic from its conception of a national state on the banks of the Sakaria, and from there the idea has penetrated far into the East, to the Jordan, the Euphrates and the Tigris, to the Ganges and the Indus, to the banks of the mighty rivers of Old China, across colonies, mandated territories and the semi-colonial states of Europe—always clarifying, directing, bearing knowledge. Since that time many of the vassal states have become masters of themselves, many mandates have expired, and many colonies are on the highroad to independence. The Turkish people have, however, remained within their own frontiers, working and building their own country; but the force of the idea had escaped across the frontiers, unimpeded, irresistible, like a sharp, shining arrow darting into space.

The first state in the Orient to conceive clearly and consciously the force behind the idea of a national economic policy was Turkey. It was the first to realize what cotton, copper and coal meant in national life, what engines and machinery represented in the hands of those who knew how to control them, whether they were machine-guns or mortars, steam or Diesel engines. Of the Oriental nations Turkey was the first to apply mechanical power and modern methods, such as the shift system and technology in the cotton, copper and coal industries. It was the first



to introduce into the East the real spirit of the times in the conduct of State economy, and was also the first to put it at the exclusive service of the nation and get the nation to work in rhythm with its economic policy.

In directing State economy Turkey is guided by the desire of harmonizing the various national impulses, without being influenced by outside opinion, whether they be the dissonant views of Western capitalism or the socialistic *fortissimo* of the north. She tries as far as she can to attune her voice to others in the concert of international economy and where possible to find a resonant note, but she is quite satisfied with the acoustics of the national structure for her own main native theme, for the rotating of wheels, the hum of spindles and the clang of hammers from Turkish railroads, motors and machinery only matter to Turkey. Yet this rhythmic clatter and buzz is already resounding towards the East, beyond the mountains of Irak and Afghanistan, across the oases of the Hedjaz and the Yemen, awakening similar rhythms. Free and spontaneous, the force of this idea is propelling itself through space like some swift arrow.

The Turkish people were the first in the Orient to mould a new single shape for State, society and economy, a form which should unite and embrace everything of vitality and significance in the age, and which should be a true image of its time, yet modern in the best sense of the word. That form was the nation. They accomplished the work without copying from foreign models, relying solely on their own inspiration and revolutionary ardour, and following their own considered, well-balanced plans. They ignored the class struggle and syndicalism of the West, the associations, national leagues and "united front", and cared nothing for the social revolution of the communist Internationale.

They fixed, clearly and unequivocally, the relations of the

State, society, and national economy with the life of the people and determined the sphere of science, religion and law, domestic and matrimonial relationships, in the simple daily round as well as for the great, eternal ideals. They sought out the old imperishable treasure of their culture and history, philosophy and art, songs and legends, discarding all false romanticism, but taking advantage at the same time of the latest discoveries and acquisitions of the whole world, though this never degenerated into servile imitation or pseudo-assimilation. They had determined to be and to remain Turkish—this was their plan and aim, the “categorical imperative” of their whole outlook on life.

The sole motive of their activities, whether within or without the State, of whatever nature they might be, was to develop and promote the Turkish spirit of Anatolia. Their collaboration with other nations for the progress and harmony of mankind as a whole depended upon the organic structure which was being built by their own efforts on their own land and within its frontiers. The current of this dynamic force, without any wish or action on the part of Turkey, has penetrated the East, across Turkestan, Mongolia and China, over the whole of Asia. Spiritual forces are awakening from their dormant state, giving age-old emotions a new directive impulse, away from the circle towards the straight line—showing Turkey a new view of life and a future stretching straight before her—like the arrows darting out into space.

This also is Kamalism.

IMPERIALISM AND KAMALISM

IMPERIALISM still prevails over the greater part of the earth, though it is beginning to feel a diminution of its former power, and realizes it must take up a defensive position and be prepared to make concessions and compromises. Nevertheless it dominates to a greater or lesser degree, sometimes openly, sometimes under the guise of alliances and treaties, nearly every country and nation of the East—although it is impossible to draw a line marking off East and West between the ruling and the servile state—and by the predominance of its political activity, its economic system and ideology it maintains that position.

Its tools and methods are almost exactly the same as when it

dominated the Ottoman Empire, and in so many Oriental countries still subject to its power the ruling families continue to make alliance with it, hoping thereby to prolong the decaying splendours of royalty even against the interests of their own people. So many Oriental nations have still, as at the time of the Ottoman Empire, foreign schools and missions of every kind, which so often cause dissension, impart only a partial culture and fill the minds, speech and art of those nations with ambiguous, half-understood, alien matter.

Like the Ottoman Empire, so many Oriental countries still keep their feudal class distinction and hierarchies, their castes and sects, with the inevitable divisions, contracts and conflicts, and whilst this internecine warfare is going on, the direction of political, economic and intellectual life in the community is slipping into the hands of Western imperialism. Then we get the same old story of capitulations, concessions and privileges for mines and railways, banks and shipping and electricity, agents and brokers, both native and foreign, laying and controlling the thousands of wires of foreign interests. So many Oriental countries still possess that network of orthodox religious laws and rules which enmesh everything in society and the State; there are still the same ignorant, intolerant clergy barring the way to progress and change, and preventing the people from becoming conscious of their power and thinking for themselves. All these things are bound up one with the other, just as in the days of the Ottoman Empire, in such a closely woven tangle that it becomes easy for Western imperialism to acquire colonies, mandated territories, territorial interests and spheres of influence. All those things are the tools which shape the power of imperialism and at the same time enable it to quieten its own conscience, and that of the world at large, by claiming an ethical justification for the use of its power, and under the guise of morality it utilizes that power for its own ends.

Whatever names or forms these imperialistic interests may assume, their aim is everywhere the same—the desire to acquire unlimited dominion over the economy, the raw materials, the production and consumption of goods by those colonial and semi-colonial peoples. This domination ensures for the ruling interest the supply of raw materials for its own industries, an outlet for

manufactured goods and employment for the labouring classes. But it ensures something further—a lasting guarantee of the differences in value between raw materials and manufactured goods—the raw materials to be provided by the colonies and the finished article, which they must purchase, by the ruling power, making a surplus value for the latter which the colonies have to offset by an inferior standard of living and civilization.

This difference in value is far from negligible: at its service are some twenty million square miles of land in Africa and Asia—five times the surface of Europe—with everything they contain and produce and about eleven hundred million people with everything they possess, produce and consume. This it is which provides the dominant nations of the Occident with funds for scientific and technical research, for libraries and hospitals, armies and navies, and upon it rests the framework of Western economic policy, social order and the structure of the state. This same advantageous difference in value and the burdens it imposes on the nations of the Orient causes the balance in the distribution of goods to favour Europe and maintains her social and political equilibrium.

What, however, is the attitude of the nations of the Orient? The nations and national groups of the colonies, the semi-colonial states, mandated territories and spheres of influence, they are all aware to-day of this state of affairs, some more clearly than others, and throughout the East, from the Mediterranean coast of Africa to China, national consciousness is being aroused to fight for economic emancipation and national independence—to throw off the yoke of colonization.

But with most of these peoples it is a mere groping, as it was when Turkey was subject to the rule of the House of Osman—a hesitant fumbling in the byways which must inevitably lead them back into the same vicious circle. Most of them are still living in fantastic dreams, swayed by the same old fanatical enthusiasms which can but increase the difficulties of their quest and confuse the issues. They have scarcely begun to appreciate the real nature, the historically decisive factors which with invincible logic have determined the subjugation of all these nations in a common serfdom—a serfdom which included Turkey until she knew how to escape from it.

Undoubtedly there have arisen from among them men of great intellectual capacity who have realized how to probe beneath the surface of things and have endeavoured to solve their problems and find a way out. One of them, perhaps one of the greatest, was Gandhi. He bridged the enormous gulf separating religions, sects, and castes and united Moslems and Hindus, Sunnites and Shiites, Brahmins and Untouchables. For two whole years he was the apostle and idol of three hundred million Indians. His word was for them a sacred command, and he united the whole of India down to the peasant in the most remote village in a single, solid national block to resist imperialistic domination. But Gandhi's teaching was based on the past. His symbol was the spinning-wheel, his gospel the rejection of machinery, railways, cities, a denial of modern civilization and technique. His idea of nationalism misconceived the spirit of the times and therefore, in spite of its apparent omnipotence, it was bound to be swallowed up in the flood of contemporary thought.

Even the Occident itself has called upon the colonies and their peoples to throw off the domination of imperialism, voicing great universal ideals and philosophies designed to establish a single economic and social order for the whole of mankind in lieu of separate states and nations. There were the congresses and resolutions of the Second Internationale and its promises to help in "the common struggle of all the socialist parties for the rights of self-determination of all the subject peoples of Asia and Africa"—promises which did not stand the first practical test, could not stand it because the supporters of this idea were completely mistaken as to the force inherent in the concept of nation and state, a force which proved itself to be stronger than all international solidarity of class and economy.

Then came the Third Internationale, the despotic power of Leninism with its appeal to the peoples of Asia to join in the common cause for the destruction of imperialism, and its organization of the masses as its lethal weapon. Lenin's attack, unlike Gandhi's, was not directed against modern technology and civilization—"technology is supreme in every field" is one of his principal dogmas. Nor, like Gandhi, did he form the masses into a nation, for to him mankind was a single homogeneous economic entity—"collectivity" was his basic principle,

and therefore like the Second Internationale, he found his strongest obstacle in the sway of those two concepts, state and nation, over the minds and emotions of the people.

But unlike the Second Internationale, Leninism persisted in its principles and wherever it was opposed by tradition and human sentiment it refused to change its views, but sought instead to change the very soul and being of mankind. It suppressed the individual as an entity capable of independent thought and action and invented the new prototype of "collective man", a creature of mass production which is interchangeable and renewable at will. By every means of modern propaganda, in sport, art, at work, in school, it defined and strengthened the idea of this type, and thus it has managed to defend itself and its programme in Russia, and its mechanization of man and the masses has been copied by other political systems, even by its opponents. But it has failed to fulfil its promise to the peoples of the colonies and mandated territories under the dominance of the great imperialist powers of the West—Occidental imperialism is still undestroyed.

But the "liquidation" of East and West, the separation of empires and colonies has begun and will continue. Any attempt to stop it would be vain, for it is based on the present evolution of mankind. It is the great dominant problem of our epoch, all others, economic crises, political upheavals, social disturbance, wars and rumours of wars are nothing but its consequence. It is the essential, the most profound, the original cause of them all, and the quest for a solution of the problem comes before every other consideration. Neither Gandhi nor the Second Internationale had found it, but it has been answered. The solution has been provided by the men of Anatolia, by the land whose imperishable unity with those she nourishes at her generous breast has so often brought solutions to the great conflicts of humanity. Far back in Sumerian times, and times without number since, it has always been the prerogative of the Turkish spirit to unite and bring back into the common fold of human civilization those elements which strayed. Once again the action of this force upon the soil of Turkey will have accomplished its mission. The Turkish people have shown the way to this solution of the problem with the irrefutable words of truth. It is evident in the

history of their struggle for national, economic and spiritual emancipation, in their victory over the powers and arms of imperialism, in the history of the establishment of the new Turkish State, its culture and its traditions. The solution is to be found in the Turkish revolution, brought about by the dynamism of a nation animated by a great idea—by the idea of Kamalism.

Supported by the force of this idea, this nation was able to find a way of escape from serfdom, to follow it and reach its goal, in spite of the privations of war, in spite of poverty, in spite of its open and secret enemies; alone and with no help from without, it overcame the full force of imperialism. This nation of sixteen million souls has achieved what the hundreds of millions of others were unable to do, neither through the ideals of saints and apostles, nor with the weight of mechanized masses, nor by the international organizations and associations for class warfare. Therefore all those people of the colonies, semi-colonies, of the mandated territories and sphere of influence who to-day are seeking spiritual and material independence, as formerly the Turkish nation did, will reach their goal if they but follow the path the Turkish people have trodden—the path of Kamalism.

This is the new, the modern form which the Turkish spirit has assumed for the fulfilment of its ancient destiny to unite, bind and fuse together mankind. That is the dynamic action of Kamalism, the source of energy and greatness of Turkey to-day.



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and *Die nationale Revolution*, published in Leipzig, 1928. Minor stylistic adaptations have been made.

APPENDIX I

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE PEOPLE

PROGRAMME

ACCEPTED BY THE FOURTH GRAND CONGRESS OF THE PARTY

MAY, 1935

ANKARA, TURKEY

INTRODUCTION

THE fundamental ideas that constitute the basis of the Programme of the Republican Party of the People are made evident by acts and results achieved from the beginning of our Revolution until to-day.

In addition, the main ideas have been formulated in the general principles of the Statutes of the Party, adopted also by the Grand Congress of the Party in 1927, as well as in the Declaration published on the occasion of the elections to the Grand National Assembly in 1931.

The main lines of our intentions, not only for a few years, but for the future as well, are here put together in a compact form. All of these principles which are the fundamentals of the Party constitute Kamalism.

PART I

PRINCIPLES

- 1.—The Fatherland.
- 2.—The Nation.
- 3.—The Constitution of the State.
- 4.—The Public Rights.

1.—THE FATHERLAND. The Fatherland is the sacred country within our present political boundaries, where the Turkish Nation lives with its ancient and illustrious history, and with its past glories still alive within the depths of its soil.

The Fatherland is a unity which does not accept separatism under any circumstance.

2.—THE NATION. The Nation is a political unit composed of citizens bound together by the bonds of language, culture and ideals.

3.—CONSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE. Turkey is a nationalist, populist, *étatiste*, secular (*laïque*) and revolutionary Republic.

The form of administration of the Turkish nation is based on the principle of the unity of power. There is only one sovereignty, and it belongs to the nation without restriction or condition.

The Grand National Assembly exercises the right of sovereignty in the name of the nation. Legislative authority and executive power are embodied in the Grand National Assembly. The Assembly itself exercises its legislative power. It leaves its executive authority to the President of the Republic, elected from among its members, and to the Council of Ministers appointed by him. The courts in Turkey are independent.

The Party is convinced that this is the most suitable of all State organizations.

4.—PUBLIC RIGHTS. (a) It is one of the important principles of our Party to safeguard rights of liberty, equality, inviolability, and property of the individual and of society. These rights are subject to the State's authority. The activity of individuals and of legal persons shall not be in contradiction to the interests of the public. Laws are made in accordance with this principle.

(b) The Party does not make any distinction between men and women with regard to the rights and duties of citizenship.

(c) The law with regard to the election of deputies is to be amended. We find it more suitable to the real requirements of democracy and to the general conditions of our country to leave the citizen free to elect electors whom he knows and trusts. The election of deputies shall take place in such a manner.

PART II

THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE PEOPLE

5.—The Republican Party of the People is: (a) Republican, (b) Nationalist, (c) Populist, (d) *Étatiste*, (e) Secular, (f) Revolutionary.

(a) The Party is convinced that the Republic is the most secure form of government to represent and realize the ideal of national sovereignty. With this unshakable conviction, the Party will defend, with all its means, the Republic against all danger.

(b) The Party considers it essential to preserve the special character and the entirely independent identity of the Turkish social community in the sense explained in Art. 2. The Party follows, in the meantime, a way parallel to and in harmony with all modern nations towards progress and development, and in international contacts and relations.

(c) The source of will and sovereignty is the nation. The Party considers it an important principle that this will and sovereignty be used to regulate the proper fulfilment of the mutual duties of the citizen to the State and of the State to the citizen.

By populist we mean that all individuals accept absolute equality before

the Law, and no privileges are recognized for any individual, family, class or community.

It is one of our main principles to consider the people of the Turkish Republic, not as composed of different classes, but as a community divided into various employments according to the requirements of labour for the individual and social life of the Turkish people.

Farmers, handicraftsmen, labourers and artisans, persons exercising the free professions, industrialists, merchants, and public servants are the main groups of work constituting the Turkish community. The functioning of each of these groups is essential to the life and happiness of the others and of the community.

The aims of our Party, with this principle, are to secure social order and solidarity instead of class conflict, and to establish harmony of interests. The benefits will be proportionate to the aptitude of the individual and to the amount of work done.

(d) Although considering private enterprise a basic idea, it is one of our main principles to interest the State actively in matters where the general and vital interests of the nation are in question, especially in the economic field, in order to lead the nation and the country to prosperity in as short a time as possible.

The interest of the State in economic matters is to be an actual builder, as well as to encourage private enterprises, and also to regulate and control the work that is being done.

The determination of the economic matters to be undertaken by the State depends upon the requirements of the greatest public interest of the nation. If the enterprise, which the State itself decides to undertake actively as a result of this necessity, is in the hands of private entrepreneurs, its appropriation shall, each time, depend upon the enactment of a law, which will indicate the way in which the State shall indemnify the loss sustained by the private enterprise as a result of this appropriation. In the estimation of the loss the possibility of future earnings shall not be taken into consideration.

(e) The Party considers it a principle to have the laws, regulations and methods of State administration prepared and applied in conformity with world needs and on the basis of the fundamental principles and methods provided for modern civilization by science and technique.

As the conception of religion is a matter of conscience, the Party considers one of the chief factors of the success of our nation in contemporary progress to be the separation of religion from politics, and from international and State affairs.

(f) The Party does not consider itself bound by progressive and evolutionary principles in ascertaining the best regulations for State administration. It deems it essential to remain faithful to those principles, born of revolutions which have cost our nation such great sacrifices, and to defend these and their subsequent elaboration.

ECONOMY—AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, MINES, FORESTS,
COMMERCE AND PUBLIC WORKS

6.—Liquid capital is important in Economy. The only source of normal capital is national work and savings. Therefore, the essential principle of our Party is to increase work, and to instil the idea of saving in the individual, the family, and in general, in State, local and national administration.

7.—The problems of credit shall be looked after with an importance commensurate with its needs. Cheapness and easy rates of interest and discount in credit transactions are our main desires.

(a) The Party attaches great importance to the security of credit in the country. We are convinced that this can only be achieved by giving preference to sound, important guarantees. We are also convinced that this is the only means of limiting the desire to use credit in business to genuine business men.

(b) The seasonal credit needs of small farmers shall be provided for by means of agricultural credit co-operatives, and the yearly credit needs of farm owners by means of mortgage credit.

(c) The methods of granting credit against crops, live stock, agricultural implements, and machinery shall be systematized.

(d) The day of payment of farm credits shall be postponed until after such time as the crop can be sold to the best advantage, without pressure on the part of the buyers.

(e) The credit needs of miners, industrialists, handicraftsmen, small traders, fishers and sponge fishers shall be provided for.

(f) The methods of providing credit for industrialists, and against machinery and implements for sea products shall be systematized.

(g) Our Party considers it an important principle to enable citizens to become home owners. It attaches great importance to widening the basis of real estate credit, which at present is narrow, and favours devoting for the moment that part of the resources of the Real Estate Bank reserved for new constructions to the building of dwellings. The Real Estate Bank cannot grant credit for new buildings to be constructed for the purpose of acquiring revenue. Credit can be granted against existing buildings on condition that the proceeds are not devoted to the construction of buildings for rent. In this way the use of existing capital, for the purpose in question, is generalized. In addition, we consider necessary the formation and establishment of a Real Estate Credit Organization on the model of the *Crédit Foncier* as soon as possible.

8.—It is one of the principles of our Party to fight Usury.

9.—The problems of insurance shall receive our attention in proportion to their importance.

10.—Our Party considers the encouragement of co-operative undertakings as one of its main principles. We think it important to establish and increase the number of credit and sales co-operatives which will benefit agricultural producers by ensuring them the real value of their products. The Agricultural Bank of Turkey is the Mother Bank of agricultural co-operatives.

11.—It is our aim to render the Agricultural Bank more useful,

especially to the economy of the peasant and farmer, and to ensure a proper legal control of its ownership.

12.—We regard it as an obligation to regulate our balance of payments, and to balance our foreign trade.

Our principle in foreign trade and commercial agreements is to buy the products of those who buy our products.

13.—Small and large industries shall enjoy protection in so far as they harmonize with the interests of the producers of raw materials.

14.—Every economic enterprise shall be in harmony with united national effort as well as with general interest. This harmony is also the principle of the relationship of employer and worker.

With the Labour Law the mutual relations of workers and employers shall be regulated. Labour conflicts shall be dealt with by means of conciliation, and where this is impossible, through the arbitration of Reconciliation Boards to be set up by the State. Strikes and lock-outs shall be prohibited.

Our interests in the life and rights of nationalist Turkish workers lie within the framework of these principles. The Labour Laws to be promulgated shall conform to these principles.

15.—The industries which the State or individuals shall establish for the industrialization of the country shall conform to a general programme. The items of the State programme shall follow one another in such a way as to render the country an industrial unit.

Industrial undertakings shall not be concentrated in certain parts of the country, but shall, instead, be spread all over the country, taking economic factors into consideration.

In order to prevent a conflict of interest between producers and consumers of industrial products, the State shall organize price controls. Apart from this, financial and technical control shall be established for State factories.

The financial control of establishments, the majority or totality of whose capital belongs to the State, shall be organized in such a way as to conform to their commercial character. We shall emphasize the rationalization of industry.

Trusts or Cartels which establish unity of price against the consumers' interests shall not be allowed. Those undertaken for the purpose of rationalization are excepted.

16.—All kinds of commercial activity are useful in the development of the country. The owners of capital who work normally and on a technical basis shall be encouraged and protected.

17.—We consider exportation one of the important national activities and the regulation of foreign-trade one of our main economic duties. We shall render fruitful the activities of those engaged in commerce. We shall be closely interested in facilitating the sale of our national products and manufactured articles, in safeguarding their reputation, in insuring their export, and in measures to be taken for their standardization. We desire to let our foreign trade function in accordance with an exportation policy which conforms to the necessities and requirements of different markets. We also propose to assist our foreign trade by State aid. We shall establish organizations which will furnish those engaged in the export trade with the information they need to succeed in their work.

18.—We consider it a good policy to create, when necessary, free zones which will benefit the State in foreign trade transits.

19.—We shall always consider carefully port, dock, quay, and loading and unloading tariffs. These shall be made to conform to the requirements of national economy.

20.—We shall attach importance to fishing and sponge fishing. The development of the fishing industry, as well as improvements in the present system of dealing in fish, which benefits neither producers nor consumers, is necessary.

21.—We shall encourage the canning industry.

22.—We consider the tourist trade (*tourisme*) a means of making Turkey known and liked abroad, and a means of benefiting Turkish economy.

23.—In our economic considerations we shall consider as a general principle the rule of absolute usefulness and profit from the economic point of view in all affairs of State relating to any ministry or authority. We consider it important to improve, in time, old laws and methods on this point.

Our Party, besides attaching this importance to economic matters, considers Economics one of the important branches of State affairs, each of which has a special importance for us.

24.—We shall endeavour to develop and regulate transport by land, sea and air. We consider it one of the economic needs of the country to bring about a harmony in the exploitation and tariffs of these three kinds of transport so that they may benefit the country to their full extent.

We shall further the State Navigation Administration in accordance with an extensive programme. In this connection, we attach importance to freight shipping.

25.—Extensive water-borne transport schemes which will serve our economic purpose are our ideal. To complete our lesser water-borne transport schemes is one of our first aims.

26.—Public works shall follow a practical and productive programme in all its branches. Among these, we shall further railway construction work, which is a means of bringing prosperity and strength to the country.

We shall consider the necessity of beginning the construction of ports at convenient times.

Work shall continue on *Vilayet*¹ roads and on a practical programme to provide the country with bridges and a network of roads built on modern constructional methods, and connecting the different parts of the country.

In building roads, economic considerations shall be given importance, and they shall be constructed perpendicularly to the railway lines in order to feed them with traffic. Considerations of national defence and security shall also be taken into account in their construction.

27.—We shall organize matters relating to the post, telegraph, telephone and wireless in such a way as to render them technically perfect, and corresponding to the needs of the country. We shall constantly increase telephonic connections between the cities.

28.—The following matters are receiving consideration:

The price of wheat, which is our primary agricultural product both

¹ Administrative division corresponding to a county or French *Province*.

in quality and value, shall not be allowed to fall below its worth.

To widen and strengthen measures so as to counteract any changes that may take place to the disadvantage of producers and consumers.

To this end, we shall continue the work already begun of constructing grain elevators and warehouses. We regard it as a duty to keep sufficient grain stocks in case of national defence or unexpected drought.

29.—We attach great importance to reducing our agricultural products and fruits to types suitable for exportation, and to producing the quantity of raw materials needed for our home industry. To this end, we shall work intensively on the improvement of seeds, tree nurseries and tree grafting.

30.—The advancement of agriculture is one of our main tasks.

31.—In order to protect the work of producers we shall fight plant and animal pests and everything harmful to these products.

32.—A special part of our work shall be to exploit and render valuable our mineral wealth, water power and forests. We consider the electrification of the whole country one of the main items in the progress of the Turkish Fatherland. We shall continue our researches in order to determine the real value and extent of our wealth in this category. It is our aim to found a financial organization to take care of these enterprises. These undertakings are the main fields of application of the *étatiste* qualification of our Party.

33.—We shall endeavour to encourage, improve and increase the breeding and rearing of live stock, and advance the live stock industry.

34.—It is one of the principal aims of our Party to make every Turkish farmer the owner of sufficient land. It will be necessary to enact special laws of appropriation in order to distribute land to farmers owning no land.

35.—The geographical situation of our country, the standard of civilization and the sense of duty of our nation demand that our citizens regard sea-mindedness as important from the points of view of sport, health, defence and general economy. The Party believes in the necessity of considering this in all national and governmental affairs.

PART IV

FINANCE

36.—The principle idea of finance in our Party is a budget based on a continued and real balance. We consider regularity of payments important for the Treasury, and a principle in the tax payments of the citizens.

37.—It is our aim to place the imposition of taxes on an indirect and net revenue basis. Our efforts shall continue, in the meantime, to better the fiscal laws with a view to rendering them practical and applicable and having due regard to the capacity of the nation to pay.

38.—One of the matters we consider important is to try and put our customs tariffs and regulations on a basis more in harmony with the economic interests of the nation.

39.—We consider the suppression of smuggling a measure for the protection of the rights and authority of the Turkish Treasury.

40.—The State Monopolies constitute a source of revenue to the State Treasury, and serve national economy by protecting the value of the products which enter their field of activity.

PART V

NATIONAL EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION

41.—Our main principles for national education and instruction are as follows:

(a) The corner stone of our cultural policy is the suppression of ignorance. In the field of public instruction a policy shall be followed of teaching and training more children and citizens every day.

(b) The training of strongly republican, nationalist, populist, *étatiste* and secular citizens must be fostered in every stage of education.

To respect, and make others respect, the Turkish nation, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and the Turkish State must be taught as a duty to which everyone must be most sensitive.

(c) It is our great desire to attach importance to intellectual as well as physical development, and especially to raise the character of each individual to the high level to which our great national history inspires.

(d) The method followed in education and instruction is to render Learning an instrument in the hands of citizens for guaranteeing success in material life.

(e) Education must be high, national, patriotic, and free from all manner of superstition and foreign ideas.

(f) We are convinced that it is important to handle tactfully the students in all institutions of education and instruction so as not to hinder their capacity for enterprise. On the other hand, it is important to accustom them to serious discipline and method, and to a proper conception of morals, in order to prevent their falling into a disordered mode of life.

(g) Our Party lays an extraordinary importance upon the citizen's knowing our great history. This learning is the sacred essence that nourishes the indestructible resistance of the Turk against all currents that may prejudice national existence, his individual capacity and power, and his sentiment of self-reliance.

(h) We shall continue our serious task of rendering the Turkish language a perfect and ordered national language.

42.—Our main ideas about the schools are the following:

(a) The duration of normal primary education shall be for five years. The number of primary schools in cities, villages or groups of villages shall be increased according to a regular programme of application, and according to need. In the village schools ideas on hygiene, improvement in living conditions, agriculture and industry that have a bearing upon the region in question shall be taught.

(b) Village schools with a curriculum lasting for three or four terms shall be opened to give the village children, in a short time, the essential learning required in practical life. A plan shall be made to establish such schools and to increase their number.

These schools shall be of a separate type from those which purpose to prepare the children for higher education. It is necessary to begin the education in these village schools at a more mature age, to continue it without interruption, and to have it controlled by the State in the same manner as military service.

(c) Professional and trade schools, as well as the trade evening schools, shall be increased to cope with the needs of the country, and necessary new courses shall be instituted.

(d) We are convinced of the necessity of having secondary schools in the capitals of *Vilayets* and in the regions of *kazas*¹ wherever it is necessary, following the principle of spreading secondary education throughout the country. We shall endeavour to create organizations to provide boarding facilities so as to enable the children of the country to benefit from these schools in peace and security.

(e) We shall strengthen and complete our Lycées in every way, so that they may prepare students fully qualified for higher education.

(f) The University and schools for higher education shall be brought to a state of perfection so that they can give the results expected of them. We purpose increasing the number of universities.

43.—Boarding facilities of a practical nature for the ordinary primary schools for the children of thinly populated villages, as well as for the special type village schools, shall be established and protected.

44.—The fine arts, and especially music, shall be given an importance in accordance with the lofty nature of our Revolution.

45.—Importance shall be attached to collecting historical objects in order to enrich our museums. For this purpose we shall undertake excavations, classify the works of antiquity, and preserve them where they stand, if necessary.

46.—Books, publications and libraries are matters of importance to the Party. We wish to establish and increase the number of libraries in cities and villages.

47.—Our Public Instruction policy shall be organized on a plan which will consider the present and future requirements of education. In accordance with this plan, all grades of education shall be reformed according to the needs of professions and trades.

48.—We consider it important to give the masses a continuous adult education, outside the classical school education, in harmony with the advancement of New Turkey. The State shall protect by all possible means the People's Houses² which are working to this end.

49.—The Party shall found a Museum of the Revolution. We consider this an effective means of instilling the revolutionary culture in the people.

50.—Turkish youth shall be organized in a national organization so as to bring them together in an atmosphere of high ethical standard and love of Fatherland and Revolution. They shall be given a physical education that will foster their joy, health, and their belief in themselves and in the nation. The youth shall be brought up with the conviction of considering its highest duty is the defence of the Revolution and of the Fatherland and

¹ Administrative division (subdivision of *Vilayet*).

² People's Houses (*Halkevi*) are the cultural centres of the Republican Party of the People.

its independence. They shall be taught to be ready to sacrifice everything in order to fulfil this duty.

In order that this fundamental education shall attain its full results, high qualities requisite for success, such as thinking, making decisions and taking the initiative shall be developed in the Turkish youth. In the meantime, they shall be required to work under strict discipline, which is the sole method of accomplishing every difficult task.

The sports organizations in Turkey shall be established and furthered in accordance with these principles. The connection and co-operation of the new youth organization with the university, the schools and institutes, People's Homes, the factories and establishments employing a number of workers together, shall be organized.

Uniformity in physical and revolutionary education, as well as in matters relating to sports in the country, shall be considered.

It shall be made obligatory for everybody in schools, government institutions, in private establishments and factories to take part in physical education according to their age. Sports fields and organizations necessary for physical education shall be established. Municipalities and local administrations shall be led to take a special interest in the securing of sports fields.

51.—The Party considers the radio to be one of the most valuable instruments for the political and cultural education of the nation. We shall erect powerful broadcasting stations, and shall provide for the easy purchase of cheap receiving sets. We shall consider it our task to render the moving picture of real use to the nation.

52.—The establishment of a national opera and the national theatre are among our important tasks.

PART VI

SOCIAL LIFE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

53.—The institution of the family is essential in Turkish social life.

54.—The increase of our population and the bringing up of a strong and healthy future generation are among tasks which we must always take into important consideration.

55.—We shall work to a definite programme, and with scientific methods, to improve hygienic conditions and drinking water supplies of our cities, towns and villages; to improve housing conditions in our villages, and to increase the hygienic knowledge of our villagers.

56.—The Party is deeply interested in child and maternal welfare. To this end, we shall continue to work on the following main lines:

(a) To increase the number of maternity homes, to open maternity wards in State hospitals, to provide gratuitous maternity help, and by the use of every means of persuasion to impart advice on child welfare, as well as to increase the number of scientifically trained midwives and visiting nurses.

(b) To increase the number of baby homes, examination and consultation centres for babies, day nurseries and homes for orphans in cities and towns.

(c) To protect working mothers and their children in the working-class districts.

57.—Orphans, needy old people and invalids are under the protection and tutelage of the nation.

58.—We shall endeavour to provide for the social and hygienic needs of workers and their families. We shall especially continue to open day nurseries in working-class districts for women who have to earn their living.

59.—Matters relating to public hygiene have a special importance for our Party. Work in this connection shall be extended continuously and in proportion to general needs.

60.—We shall continue the fight against contagious diseases such as Malaria, Syphilis and Trachoma.

PART VII

HOME AND FOREIGN POLICY, THE JUDICIARY, PUBLIC SERVANTS, PEOPLE ENGAGED IN FREE PROFESSIONS

61.—The basis of our work is to establish and provide for the functioning of a governmental authority. This authority must be impervious to any event or influence, and shall protect all the results of the Revolution, the complete security of the citizen, and national order and discipline, by means of its internal and judicial organization and its laws.

62.—As part of the tasks of applying this principle so as to increase our population, we shall provide all help and facility to Turks who may be outside the country.

63.—We shall elaborate and complete the law on the organization of courts of justice, in a manner most suited to the needs of the public and to the interests of the country.

We shall widen the scope of the simple, rapid and practical judicial procedure which offers such security.

We shall take measures to guarantee rapid and easy service of process and execution of the judgments of the courts.

We shall endeavour to separate prisoners from people under arrest, and to turn the prisons into reformatories.

64.—Peace in the country and peace in the world is one of our main principles.

65.—Public servants who devote their life to duty with all attention and care, and a constant consideration of the high interests of the nation, are worthy of all peace and prosperity.

66.—No association shall be founded in Turkey with the purpose of propagating ideas of class distinction, or of class conflict. Those who receive salary or pay for their services from the State, local administrations, municipalities or establishments attached to the State, cannot use the identity of their position in order to found associations, in the quality and identity of the office they hold.

67.—Organizations carrying the name of Students' Associations can, in no way, engage in politics, nor can they, in any way, engage in activity against the administration of the school, faculty or institute to which they belong.

68.—We shall make a point of organizing Turkish workers and members of different trades within the nation, and in such a way as to render them useful and stimulating to it, in accordance with the attitude outlined in the Party Programme.

69.—Associations with internationalist intentions shall not be founded, and it shall be forbidden to found associations with their centre outside the country. The decision of the Council of Ministers is necessary to found associations to create unity among nations that shall be deemed by the State to be of use, or to open branches of such associations already in existence.

70.—The services of people exercising free professions useful and necessary for the national Turkish existence are appreciated by the Party. It is our duty to keep their field of activity open and secure, in order that they may reap the benefits of their capacity and effort.

71.—We consider the village important from every point of view in the life of New Turkey. The health and happiness of the peasants, their understanding of the revolution and of culture, and their force in the economic field, are to be considered important from the point of view of our available power.

PART VIII

DEFENCE OF THE FATHERLAND

72.—The defence of the Fatherland is the most sacred of national duties. All the living and inanimate resources of the country shall be used to this end in case of necessity. The Party has accepted the principle of applying obligatory military service equally to all citizens. The Turkish army is above all political considerations and influences. We consider it important that the army possesses the power to fulfil successfully, at every moment, the high duty confided to it, and that it be provided with modern equipment.

73.—We take special care that the army of the Republic, constituting as it does the unshakable foundation of our high State organization, and protecting and guarding national ideals, the national existence, the Revolution, as well as its valuable members, be always honoured and respected.

APPENDIX I_A

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE PEOPLE

CONSTITUTION

ADOPTED AT THE FOURTH GRAND CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, MAY, 1935

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

1.—The Republican Party of the People is a political association constituted in conformity with the Law of Associations and working in accordance with the principles laid down in its Programme. The headquarters of the Party is at Ankara.

2.—The permanent supreme leader of the Party is Kamâl Atatürk, its founder.

3.—Citizens who are members of the Party constitute a political *bloc* united by mutual sentiments of sincerity, confidence and comradeship.

The members of the Party are advancing in unity towards a common purpose on the lines traced clearly and plainly by the Party Programme and rules, and any deviation towards the right or the left is prohibited.

4.—Members of the Party must be imbued by its principles so that they can propagate and defend them.

5.—An important task of Party organizations and members is to spread party principles abroad constantly and on every possible occasion and to enlighten our fellow citizens as to their meaning.

6.—The Party is interested in and sympathetically inclined towards every kind of welfare and social service association and organization undertaken and established in the country.

7.—Every young Turk beneath the age of political activity is regarded by the Party as naturally eligible as a candidate for membership.

8.—The Party has a flag bearing the emblem of six arrows which symbolize the essential characteristics of the Party, and also a badge and a hymn. The type and use of these are fixed by a special regulation.

PART I

ADMISSION TO THE PARTY

9.—Every citizen who habitually employs the Turkish language and has assimilated Turkish culture, and who has adopted the principles of

the Republican Party of the People, is admitted to the Party on the following conditions. Such citizen

(a) Must be not less than eighteen years of age.

(b) Must be of good repute.

(c) Must not have been condemned to imprisonment for serious crime or infamous conduct, nor be outlawed.

(d) Must not have opposed the struggle for national independence nor have participated in movements or organizations opposing it, and such citizen must give proof of a mentality which is not of a negative political type.

10.—Every citizen desirous of joining the Party must be nominated by two persons who have been members for at least two years of the local association where admission is sought, and they must state that the candidate possesses the requisite qualifications. The candidate must make a written declaration to the local association of the Party that he intends to adopt the Party principles, rules and programme, and must give an undertaking that he will not disparage them. In this way the candidate pledges himself to the Party.

11.—The decision to admit or to refuse admission made by the local association becomes final upon confirmation by the main committee of the sub-prefecture. This formality takes place and the candidate is informed of its result within a period of not more than three months from his nomination. Citizens refused admission by the main committee of the sub-prefecture have a right to appeal to the provincial main committee.

APPENDIX II

DECLARATION MADE BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE PEOPLE, FEBRUARY 10TH, 1936

ACCORDING to the census of October, 1935, the population of Turkey totals 16,300,000 inhabitants, of which 9,000,000 are adults. In that year the membership of the Republican Party of the People totalled 1,260,000, constituting 13.8% of the adult population.

In 1933 the total population was estimated at 14,500,000 souls, with a corresponding proportion of adults, and the membership of the Party presents an increase of 19% in comparison with that year. The full importance of that increase will be appreciated by consideration of the following points:

1.—Membership does not entail any material or political advantage whatever. The Party does not tolerate any intervention in juridical or military matters, nor any interference with private interests whatsoever. It is ideology alone which attaches adherents to the Party.

2.—The disorganization of political parties during the last years of the Ottoman Empire, especially since 1908, caused the majority of the population to turn aside from political activity. It has therefore been necessary to awaken and revive interest in political life amongst the people. The efforts to this end made by the C.H.P. (the Republican Party of the People) have been crowned with success. In addition, the C.H.P., unlike other single party systems, which attach little interest to increase of membership, records the fact of this increase with satisfaction.

3.—According to its rules, the C.H.P. does not admit government officials as members. Such a restriction, it is true, prevents an increase of only 3%, but nevertheless it is more the quality of members than quantity which counts. It should, however, be emphasized that these officials, although ineligible for membership, are fully imbued with Party principles and take an active part, together with the teachers, in the work of the People's Houses.

Even before acquiring their political rights (franchise and eligibility of membership), women had already contributed their part to the activity of the Party. Though there are no figures available showing the proportion of women members, their number is estimated as between 70,000 and 80,000, and it also is constantly increasing. The study of a few figures will show clearly the interest which women are manifesting for political life—often a more pronounced interest than that taken by the men. Here

are the figures concerning the participation in the elections of 1935 which give an example of this:

Number of enfranchised electors	8,077,310
Actual votes	5,545,349
Men	2,828,503
Women	2,716,846

These figures show an increase of 50% in the proportion of voters in comparison with the election figures of 1931. Their importance is all the more evident when one realizes that there does not exist any legal obligation to vote nor does the Party exercise any pressure whatsoever, and in certain parts of the country the conditions of communication present considerable difficulties.

These figures demonstrate the success obtained by the efforts of the Party towards increasing the general interest of the public in political life. It might be opportune now to give some information with regard to the activity of the institution known as the Halk Evi (People's Houses), which was founded and is maintained by the Party. To-day there are 103 of these Houses, of which three-quarters are functioning in a very satisfactory manner.

Membership of the Party is not necessary in order to participate in their activities or to benefit by the advantages they offer, although their programme and budget are regulated by the Party. Every Halk Evi enjoys a certain latitude in its work and in the execution of projects set out in the programme of activities. There are about one thousand people engaged in the administration of the various People's Houses. Each director of a House has to be a member of the Party. The opening of 33 new Houses, which is planned for the current year, will bring their total up to 136 by the end of 1936.

The part played by the general public in the activities of the People's Houses and in their meetings is continually growing. Last year 300,000 persons visited the Halk Evi in Ankara (lectures, educational courses, concerts, library, dramatic performances, gymnasia, etc.). This number represents two and a half times the population of that town, or a daily average of 900 visitors. Though we consider the development of the Halk Evi movement as highly desirable, we refrain here, as in everything else, from exceeding our budgetary capacity. In localities of secondary importance we have been content to establish "Public Halls", which are set apart for lectures, public readings, concerts, etc. These "Halls", which are similar to the Halk Evi but on a minor scale, depend upon the assistance of neighbouring People's Houses. Wherever the "Halls" have proved to be insufficient the public squares have been utilized, and where necessary amphitheatres have been constructed. From these indications one can appreciate the importance which is given to the Halk Evi among the general activities of the Party.

THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY

Every year "Popular Congresses" are held.

A "General Congress" takes place every four years—the last one was in May, 1935. These Congresses are public, but only members of the

Party have the right to vote thereat. Amongst the principal matters discussed are questions concerning the general needs of the public, the budget of the Party, and final motions regarding changes in the Party rules.

Every participant of the Congress may put forward proposals or requests with reference to matters of general or local interest, and the Party encourages this general participation in its work. Every proposal is studied by the Congress and afterwards submitted to the appropriate official department which, immediately after the matter is brought to its attention, is obliged to subject it to a careful examination. The governor (*Vali*) in his capacity as the highest official of the *vilayet*, assists personally at the Congress of this kind. He expresses his opinion or makes suggestions, but abstains from participation in the discussions. This indicates the close co-operation which exists between the congresses of the Party and local administration.¹ It also shows the interest of the whole nation in the activities of the State, and the nature *sui generis* of Turkish democracy, one of its characteristic principles being that the citizen exercises his influence on public matters not only by universal suffrage, but also by participation in public administration. Briefly, it can be said that the democratic system operates in a direct way by means of the Party Congresses, and in an indirect way through the intermediary of the deputies in Parliament.

This democratic characteristic is demonstrated in another and more obvious fashion. The Congresses are constantly in touch with the Grand National Assembly. Each deputy gathers his constituents together at regular meetings (during the month of January, 1936, 1,000 meetings of this kind were held) and discusses with them all subjects of public interest. For this purpose he receives from the headquarters of the Party certain lists of questions of a general nature and also of particular matters. These lists, after having been answered, are returned to headquarters. The following examples will serve to illustrate the kind of questions asked:

Regularity of meetings provided by the rules for the local administration of the Party.

The nature of the co-operation between the local administration of the Party and local official authorities.

Abuses by the administration of the Party consequent on the exercise of its prerogatives.

The nature of the co-operation between the local administration of the Party and the general public.

A separate and distinct organization groups together the inspectors of the Party, and they receive a special list of questions direct from the central administration.

The most characteristic features of the C.H.P. are as follows: The C.H.P. does not recognize any class distinction whatever. It is patriotic without being irredentist, with a trend towards the "left". Whereas in other European countries the party spirit has penetrated to the most

¹ This co-operation has become still closer since the recent reform of the administration of the Party, in force since June, 1936. Hereafter, each *vali* assumes *ex officio* the direction of the local branch of the Party in his *vilayet*, and the Minister of the Interior exercises in person the function of General Secretary.

remote regions, in Turkey the activity of the People's Party is greatly facilitated by the fact that the great mass of the population is not yet fully familiarized with civic and political life.

The Party is *étatiste*. But though the State takes an active constructive part in affairs, it does not eliminate private enterprise. In order, however, to prevent all possible abuses which might be detrimental to the workman and to the consumer in general, the State reserves the right of controlling national economy. Private enterprise is compelled to respect scrupulously all regulations which are imposed upon it for the welfare of the public.

According to the views of the C.H.P. the system of corporations is not suited to the particular needs of Turkey. The C.H.P. is *populiste*. It considers the nation as a homogeneous whole and does not admit any privileges either in favour of individuals or families, of groups or classes. Its conception of the unity of the nation excludes privileges of every kind.

Thus it is that the C.H.P. makes no distinction between the sexes. It considers each individual, man or woman, as a contributor to society carrying out his or her share in the common national task. In this community of work everyone has his place assigned according to his capacities and means.

The C.H.P. professes the principle of complete laicism. Furthermore, it is revolutionary. It considers revolution as a continuing state of things, and thus it is of the opinion that the revolutionary movement of Fascism, which originated in the reaction against Marxism, came to an end with the march on Rome. From this same point of view National Socialism has passed the revolutionary stage. It must be recognized that neither in Germany nor in Italy did the reforms which have been accomplished cause or have reason to cause such a complete overthrow of the very foundations of national life as in Turkey. Both movements when taking over power made use not of revolution, but of the existing form of the liberal government and its legal institutions (elections and parliament) and proceeded with their reformatory activity only after legal accession to power.

We are convinced that every nation must create for itself the forms of its political life, and that any kind of imitation of foreign political ideas or organizations, whatever they may be, is a mistake. Thus the Revolution of 1789 was blindly imitated by a great number of nations who had never asked themselves whether certain conditions obtaining in the French Revolution were appropriate to these other interested peoples. The unhappy result of such inconsequence has not been long in showing itself. That is why all attempts to apply to other nations certain conceptions of Fascism or National Socialism—political systems proper to Italy and Germany—have proved unsatisfactory and even been prejudicial to that nation which has sought to impose them.

The C.H.P. is convinced that Kamâlism, a political system of Turkish inspiration, is the one best suited to the Party both to-day and for the future, because it is capable of adapting itself the more adequately to the special conditions of Turkish life. We abstain, nevertheless, most carefully from criticizing other political ideologies which differ from our own and belong to other nations provided they do not overstep the limits of territory reserved to them.

